

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

AUGUST, 1921

Norway Strikes!

The British Miners' Struggle

By N. WATKINS

Agricultural Battles in California

By MORTIMER DOWNING

International Class Unionism

By GEORGE HARDY

PRICE 25 CENTS

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

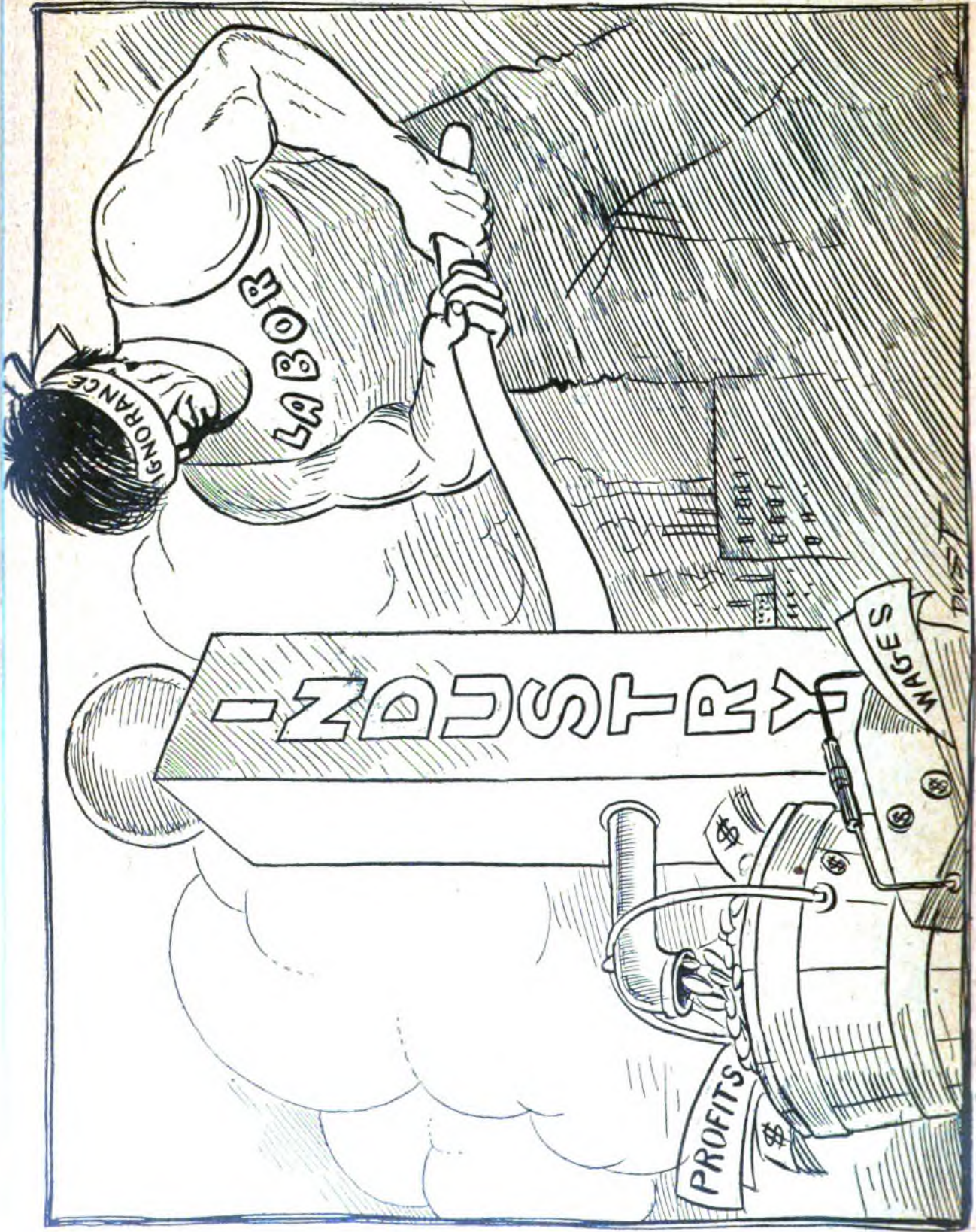
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





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THE BLIND MAN'S SHARE

The Industrial Pioneer

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Serial No. 7

Norway Strikes!

NORWAY, the land of Viking traditions and of marine transport fact, is when judged by population, the most important and highly developed maritime country in the world. The sons of the land of the midnight sun sail on the seven seas and her Diesel-type schooners, her coal and oil burning tramps and flapping windjammers bring home to the coffers of Norway's merchant parasites the wealth which is so conspicuously absent among the sailors.

World capitalism had failed to find markets for the products of her industries. The Norwegian ships were being tied up one by one. The owners being true business men and not having any conception of social causes saw only that they must compete with other ships for the trade. They did not realize that there was to be no trade. They did not take into consideration that without markets shipping companies would have nothing to transport. They only thought as their kind has always thought in terms of price and costs.

Their solution to the world problem of decaying capitalism was to bring down the standard of hours and wages that the sailors on their ships had been receiving. With unemployment and commercial stagnation in the ports of the world they seized on a strategic time to put their ideas into practice.

In early May they notified the seamen and longshoremen that the new scale of wages and hours would go into effect. On May 8 the Marine Transport workers went on strike. Three thousand sailors and six thousand longshoremen were the first to go out.

The shipowners refused to come to any agreement. They ignored the strikers as their ships were tied up comfortably at the docks and had little to do any way. Those ships in foreign ports were not affected by the strike order, except in isolated cases of spontaneous rebellion. There was no international machinery of unionism to make this national strike effective. The ship owners were sitting pretty.

On May 10th the Bergen council of Landsorganizationen decided to call on all organized workers in the whole country to strike if there was no agreement by May 26. They decided not to call out the State workers.

On May 26 the call went out. In Kristiania everything came to a stand still. In other towns things were well tied up. Miners, millmen, electric and powerhouse workers responded solidly to the call besides many other sections of workers in less strategic positions.

The government at once took steps to organize strike breakers. A big campaign was carried on amongst the small farmers of the whole country and they were organized, listed and mobilized for strike breaking action. The business elements and the students completed the force of scabs and under the protection of the military and police they started up the electric stations and had the gas ovens going.

Bloody battles were fought by the workers to protect their position and many were killed and injured. Class lines were clearly drawn and spirits ran high.

The weak spot in the workers line of battle was on the railroads. Six months

before a big strike had been waged on the railroads and was lost. The class conscious elements among the railroad workers were discharged and were not reinstated. A system of espionage and black list prevented reorganization of the fighting elements. The conservatives and reaktionaries were running the rail transport system of the country and aided in every section the strike breaking plans of the government.

They shipped guns and ammunition to shoot down the workers with. They readily transported the scabs and military and were all the way through the servile tools of the master class.

After two weeks continuance of the big sympathetic strike it was called off and the men were ordered back to work. The trade unions had not won their point. The ship owners stood pat when they met the sailors in conference.

With the return of the sympathetic strikers who were estimated to be about a hundred thousand in number, the sailors were in much the same position as before. They continued their strike together with the longshoremen until their executive bodies called the strike off. What the reasons were for calling the men back to work after their heroic struggle of many

weeks is not clear. Later news may bring this out.

The workers in the marine transport and other industries are bitterly disillusioned with the executive machinery of their unions. With no centralized head or directive policy the different unions were handicapped when it came to putting up a united fight.

The marine workers now more than ever see the need of international organization. Could they have reached their men in foreign ports and had the backing of the longshoremen there, no doubt the end would have been different but with a purely national strike on their hands even the heroic efforts of the entire rank and file were thrown away. The Marine workers of Norway like the Marine workers of Denmark a few months ago lost their strike and went back on the bosses terms.

Now is the time to put an end to nationalistic unionism and launch the true one big union of sea and port workers. The Mariners of Denmark, Norway and the United States have all felt the futility of craft and nationalistic unionism. There is but one way out. Let us travel that way.—

Compiled from Norwegian Papers by
W. S. & R. W.

Soft Hands

By A. Miner

His face bears the scars of life's battles,
They were made by privation and care,
Yet shines through his eyes the brave spirit
That fears not to do and to dare.

Would you trace the deep tide of his courage?
I can show you the source undefiled
In the soiled grimy hand of the toiler
Lies a little soft hand of a child.

He thinks as more fondly and closely
The delicate fingers are pressed
Of little soft hands that lie folded
And still on the little cold breast.

When he heard the stones fall on her coffin,
He knew—ah the sting of that thought!
That his baby had died for lack of the wealth
That his own calloused hands had wrought.

There are millions of thin little fingers
In this fruitful, this beautiful land,
That are robbed of their plumpness and dimples,
The birthright of each little hand.

International Class Unionism

By George Hardy

THE progressive deterioration of capitalism is bringing the working class of America to realize that they cannot safeguard their common interests unless they organize on a world class basis. This naturally draws our attention to the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions now convened at Moscow, for here we have the formation of an International Class Union.

The Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W.—commenced its class mission sixteen years ago. It had a mission to perform—the organizing of the workers on the economic field and making them class-conscious.

Gradually and forcefully we have fulfilled our duty; always changing our tactics and program to meet the various changes in the labor world and of capitalism itself. Because of the nature of our program we decided to send our delegate to the Moscow Congress.

We want to ally ourselves with what we believe to be the most virile International ever launched on the industrial battlefield. It is the culmination of our aim.

The Independent Unions.

The I. W. W. is not blind to the necessity for a closer alliance of the various independent unions of the North American continent. We are not satisfied with the progress made during the last decade, therefore it is our desire to see complete unity accomplished. There is no hope whatsoever of the A. F. of L. ever doing anything officially for the workers. They will only continue to ride on their backs; however, there is hope in the rank and file.

Our chief concern is, that the revolting elements who have severed their connection with the old crafts should get together. There are seven or eight different independent unions which, if united, would make a driving force amongst the great

mass of unorganized workers. A large percentage of these can never be induced to join the A. F. of L.

With a united revolutionary union—with its objective abolition of capitalism always foremost—created out of the many independent unions—we will be able to meet any crisis that will happen. It would be tragic to have any of the independents become supporters of worm-eaten craft-union policies.

This does not mean we are against revolutionary nuclei working within the craft-unions in fact we believe the message of discontent and abolition of the wage system should be carried into every labor body.

We even believe organized methods should dominate the groups carrying on such propaganda. Especially do we realize this to be necessary as a general world's policy, because of the large masses inside the trade-unions in England, Germany and France, etc. etc. The workers destiny must be taken out of the hands of Gompers; Thomas-Williams & Co. of England; the Legiens of Germany; the Longuets of France, and Daragonas and Serratis of Italy.

Gompers and his supporters say: "We in America have nothing to do with European Labor"; "We can get along fine without their assistance"; "We want no connection with those European Bolsheviki"; and so on and so forth. The I. W. W. does not believe this! We know that if European labor suffers it will have a detrimental influence upon the condition of the workers in America. Therefore, we pledge our solidarity with all the workers of the world.

Organization and World Conditions.

We see an economic reason for the U. S. Army participating in the world's war. The capitalist class had to save the invested millions which were loaned to the Entente. The social character of society drew the U. S. financiers and industrial barons into

the struggle which has locked them up economically—the economic and biological laws could not be evaded—the principle of the survival of the fittest always triumphs.

The very same laws are operating in working class organizations. They demand that, to have economic security and to survive, we must become the dominant class. We can only do this by building our movement on an international basis. The I. W. W. knows the war has left central Europe prostrate; we know two thirds of the world-workers are gradually starving to death under the **Iron Dictatorship of Capitalism**; we feel it and see it in the 5 million unemployed in this country; we know no relief is possible under the present system, for the same conditions prevail in every capitalist country in the world, in varying degrees.

Some day the European workers will take action, and the American workers' condition will grow gradually worse if they continue apathetic; factories will close, as the capitalist class will refuse to operate their industries to give goods to a revolutionary Europe. They even now refuse to trade with Russia who is carrying on the actual revolutionary struggle alone.

The I. W. W. takes the same position towards Craft Unionism in America as the International of Trade and Industrial Unions takes towards the yellow Amsterdam "International". We continue outside of the A. F. of L., trying to unite the independent unions to form a rallying ground as soon as disintegration commences. The so-called International of Trade Unions headed by J. H. Thomas—the betrayer of British Labor in the recent miner's strike—went to pieces in August 1914. Legien of Germany tried to use it as an instrument in favor of the Central Powers. The Entente labor fakirs and social traitors protested and lined up with the blood and trade thirsty masters of **their countries**. Thus we find an international betrayal of labor—a betrayal by those whom the workers had trusted with leadership.

Reactionary Movements.

Since the world's war ended the ruling class have not been slow to seize upon every opportunity to hold these social chauvinists on their side. These hyphenated "labor leaders" continue their social tragedies, professing to represent the workers. They take seats at the oily benches of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations; urge the workers to work harder and longer, for less wages; using the same blunt statements as the capitalist class—to use J. H. Thomas' phrase—"it is not over-production we are suffering from, it's under-consumption" (?)

True, we are suffering from "under-consumption" because of the system of private ownership of the wealth production. Goods are not produced for consumption, but to sell at a profit. Because of the condition that has been brought on by the collapse of capitalist exchange—due to the war—there is over-production. All the mouthing of phrases favorable to the existing system could not convince the crudest observer otherwise, especially those now walking the streets out of a job, while the factory, shop or warehouse windows that he or she worked in, show stacks of surplus goods.

These same characters, such as Albert Thomas of France and Barnes of England, together with the yellow Amsterdam officials, betrayed the workers of Germany in November 1918, also in every move the workers have made to attempt emancipation since the end of the war. They recently betrayed the coal miners of Britain, and now the "Brotherhood" chiefs of U. S. A. are preparing to betray the railroad workers just as the United Mine Workers officials treacherously threw down the coal miners in 1919.

The New International.

These facts make imperative the new International of Trade and Industrial Unions—an **International based on the class struggle**—standing always at attention, ready to assist any unit who may be attacked, or find themselves distressed. It will weld the divided revolutionary unions into one united

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whole. Upwards of 14 millions are now represented by approximately 400 delegates at the first world's congress of a real International Union.

Centralism must be its policy. There can be no heavy attacks made upon capitalism unless we can manoeuvre unitedly. **Discipline throughout the new International must be maintained.** The "International" Federation of Trade Unions failed the workers hopelessly, because it had no policy mapped out to meet a crisis, and an uncourageous leadership.

Wherever we can gain job control in factories, committees should be set up; these committees should refuse all alliances with the employers schemes—such as the Whitley scheme now being put into operation in many factories. It is true that power must be seized out of the hands of the ruling class—but they use **force** as instance the Facisti of Italy, the Orgesch of Germany and White Guard organizations everywhere too numerous to mention.

In order to minimize that force it is necessary to have as much working class organization and understanding of how to control the social processes as possible, before the crash comes.

The new movement must prepare for the workers' dictatorship, for as the I. W. W. always has said: "those who control economically control politically". This is a truism no one can deny who thinks scientifically.

The working class then must have before their eyes a picture of a centralized working-class government; passing decrees regulating the actions of the people; creating laws that say: "He that doth not work, neither shall he eat"; regulating the bourgeoisie in keeping with the workers' desires—this is the dictatorship of the proletarian state. This, possibly, will be the policy of the New International.

The I. W. W. have in existence their city central councils which under capitalism, distribute literature and carry on propaganda with local centers. It is the social organ where centralized work is carried on, distinct and separate from the

Industrial Union branches. However, city central councils draw their delegates from these industrially organized units.

Extend the idea further and we find we would arrive at the political side of the labor movement—the communal side, as apart from direct production within the industries.

State Power and Unionism.

The congress of Trade and Industrial Unions cannot shut its eyes, and blindly ignore the existence of a state power as some individuals in the American labor movement would have us do. It must prepare for every emergency. The attitude of the capitalist class in Great Britain during the recent coal strike is a fine example of what they intend to do; mobilization of armies was their first thought, proclamations calling the army and naval reserves to the colors; battleships speedily dispatched to all important ports to wreak the vengeance of a tottering ruling-class upon those who may challenge their right to control.

This young class-conscious International will have a policy to combat this—war on any part of the working class must be met by strikes. If war is declared between two or more capitalist nations the answer must be: **General Strike!** Transport workers should prepare to refuse to handle munitions destined to be used against their fellow-workers, at home or abroad.

Thru the Central Bureau we may know of the activities of all other countries, and gain knowledge that will bind us solidly together. Heretofore we have been groping in the dark, while thousands of our comrades have been shot and thrown into the cold dark dungeons of capitalism at home and in countries far away.

The International of Trade and Industrial Unions is the highest council of the working class on the economic arena. Like the I. W. W. it does not recognize any national boundaries, no color or race divisions; not even a dividing line between the occident and the orient exists; class unionism, with emphasis, is its slogan, emancipation its goal, and the ownership of the world's

creative processes and the earth for the toilers. Centralize the activities of the world's unionists and we will put an end to this inhuman system.

Do as our Russian fellow-workers have done—stop exploitation by the bourgeoisie! Feeling free we will work with enthusiasm beyond description. Prostitution of all kinds will be banished from the earth; more de-

termined men will exist, who cannot be bought for a "mess of pottage"; children will be better educated; happier homes and brighter surroundings will be the workers' reward for their adherence to the cause of Solidarity, by being a part of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.



Sacco-Vanzetti: Victims

By Art Shields

AMERICAN workers are getting hardened to the prostitution of capitalist courts,—so the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the court house at Dedham, Mass., does not bring the shock that such action would have brought ten years ago, but none the less the case is the most glaring perversion of that abstraction known as "justice" that has been seen in years.

The multitude of evidence proving the innocence of these two working men of the charge of killing a paymaster and a shoe company guard at South Braintree, Mass., in May, 1920 has been put before working class readers time and again, so there is no need to go over it here. Nor is it necessary to recount again the methods which the Department of Justice and the labor-hating state police of Massachusetts used, to put over their nefarious act. It has been told before in this case and others, the putting of stoolpigeons into adjacent cells with stories of their I. W. W. connections and their desire for dynamite to blow up the prison, for the purpose of entrapping the defendant into conversation in order

to pervert his remarks later. The use of witnesses, who were far away from the scene, the burglarizing of defense offices; these and a dozen other dirty finkstunts are nothing new to any intelligent worker.

The point is that these workingmen, whose crime was their advocacy of economic direct action in the shoe and cordage mills of New England, and their determined resistance to the murder tactics of the secret police in the case of their fellow worker, Andrea Salsedo, who pitched to his death from the fourteenth story window of the Department of Justice in New York, the point is that these men have lost a legal battle with the owners of the law.

The lives of Sacco and Vanzetti will not be saved without direct action. This does not mean to state that further legal efforts will not also be necessary. But what is meant is that the added power, the kind of power that obtained the release of Ettor, Giovanitti and Caruso from the death cage at Salem, after the Lawrence strike of nine years ago, comes from the force of organized labor in motion.



STIRRING HIS FEATHERS

Crafty Gossip

The A. F. of L. Convention

THE forty-first convention of the American Federation of Labor was pulled off with the usual pepless precision that has marked all the forty preceding ones. The three functions of the convention, aside from the ceremony of re-electing Sam Gompers, took up most of the time and discussion. In the order of their importance—vacation jaunting, jurisdictional disputes and legislative programs, to keep the score or more of lobbyists “busy” for the coming year, were given the devoted attention of the “representatives of the American labor movement.”

It was estimated that about seventy-five per cent of the entire business of the body was of a legislative nature. Consider the fact that the labor lobby has after its years of experience and earnest sweat, been unable to gain one concession from the legislative bodies of beneficent capitalism and you get a slight conception of the usefulness of this mighty gathering.

More significant were the jurisdictional matters fought out here. Of grave import were these. Up through the serried ranks of labor officialdom had come those questions debated by business agents, executive boards, vice presidents, international vice presidents, boards of international officers, only to balk at settlement and be referred to this astute body for final disposal.

Does a man working in a metal fabricating plant that drills a hole in a piece of iron a half inch thick, one inch wide and two feet long, places the drilled piece in a roll and puts a neat crook in its once straight and rigid beauty, then only to farther mar and mutilate it, places it in an oven and when one end is hot stamps it into a peculiar and ugly shape—does this man, I repeat, “belong” to the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron shipbuilders or the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers?

These were the questions of moment that furrowed the unadorned brows of delegates. To their credit be it said that they always laid the emphasis when stating such questions on the point where it should have been placed. Does he “belong” to us?

With one eye ever on the per capita pulse, craft officialdom forgot to lay plans for amalgamation and centralization for the purpose of fighting the boss. Far be such thoughts from them. As president Kline of the Blacksmiths (etc.) once said in Seattle—“I would be a damn fool to propose or work for One Big Union, me holding the position that I do.” And so would they all.

Freedom for Ireland was popular, very popular, that is as long as it didn't cost anything. A motion to give freedom a crutch in the shape of a boycott on British goods was downed with enthusiasm. Freedom should stand on its own legs.

The final and crowning constructive effort was the report of the executive committee on Soviet Russia. Summing up the entire matter they opined that the first workers government in the world was a “brutal defenseless tyranny.”

The matter of international affiliation was debated at length, but as there seemed little hope of A. F. of L. persons getting pie cards in the international bureau of the yellow Amsterdam body it was decided that parting with the necessary per capita to pay for such membership would be wasted opportunity. Amsterdam was rigidly repulsed.

The convention closed in plenty of good spirits.

* * *

The Amalgamation Strike

On June 2, 1921 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America signed up a working agreement which means victory over the open shop element of the New York clothing plutocrats. A six months strike has finally been ended so that the workers can now go back victorious in the very hottest part of the year.

The bosses, happy amongst the profits of the last few years laid down an ultimatum to the Amalgamated something like this.—

1. Individuals have a sacred right to sell themselves to us as they please.
2. If they want to work piece work we can set the prices.
3. Any time we don't like them we can fire them. If they don't like us, they can quit.
4. Any time that wages seem too good for the moral welfare of the slave we will lower them.
5. Day workers will hit the ball or hit the road.

After six months of happy life amongst the idle machines the bosses accepted the following terms by which the slaves agree to be governed:

1. Slaves will maintain closed union shop.
2. Joint arbitration and adjustment machinery by which the bosses and the workers come together reinstalled.
3. Shop standards set by joint committees.
4. Wage reductions not to exceed fifteen per cent.
5. Forty-four hours a week.

It is to be stated that the most notable reason for the Amalgamated winning the strike is because they do not belong to the A. F. of L.

* * *

Railroads and Open Shops

The open shop drive on the craft unions is still gaining momentum in the railroad crafts. The Pennsylvania system has even informed that efficient labor retarding machinery known as the United States Railroad Labor Board that it does not need their help in quelling the workers in the shops and on the road.

They are at present quite sure that they can keep the workers in line with a company union



THE CONVENTION CONDEMNS

which operates on the same basis as the well known Four L. in the lumber industry. The Four L. is of about as much use to the boss or the workers now in the lumber industry as a speaking trumpet is to a spring frog. But the railroad workers on the Pennsylvania lines seem to fall, in places, for this stuff.

The brainy policy of the heads of the workers organizations in this industry is responsible for the trend of events. If the workers can be held in submissiveness by a gang of reactionary labor officials, the railroads think that all that is necessary is to get the men into a company union and then they can just as easily hold them down in it and won't have to bother with the ever greedy fakir.

The workers, perhaps seeing no gain to be had from the damnable policy of their respective craft unions have lost interest in trying to maintain unionism, and fall ready victims for the company union plan. The fact that no union, either company, craft

or industrial can be of any value to the workers unless it has economic power and is prepared to use this power to enforce demands is quite often overlooked.

So far as actual results is concerned it matters nothing at all to the railroad men whether the craft officials hold them down or whether the holding is done by company officials through the company union. The solution to the problem lies not in taking sides with either of these factions but in forming an industrial union of the railroad workers capable of concerted and united action to enforce demands by the use of economic power.

Many of the workers in the rail transport industry see this very clearly and hundreds of their fellows are coming to understand it every day. Craft officialdom sits serenely on the lid and joyfully steam rolls every attempt of the membership to develop fighting organs.

The Metal Trades Officials Speak

The metal trades department of the A. F. of L. once again proved its craft purity in resisting the seductive program of the International Association of Machinists.

The machinists in view of present day conditions have at last seen the need of industrial unionism. Not being strong of eye, however, they looked at this need through the smoked glasses of amalgamation and so managed to retain some semblance of their highly valued near sightedness.

They proposed to the metal trades officials in convention assembled to call a conference of the "heads" of the international unions which composed the metal trades body, for the purpose of working out plans for closer affiliation and possible amalgamation.

The popularity of this outrageous attack on official sinecures, at least among the officials, can be judged by the vote. One hundred and seventy-one ballots were cast in favor of the measure while vest pocket ballots made and provided for the occasion by wary labor politicians yielded the sum of three thousand two hundred and ten loud and angry nays. Thus is the virgin purity of craft isolation vindicated and maintained.

* * *

The United Mine Workers

The United Mine Workers of America represents an anomaly in American unionism. Industrial in form it presents a sort of local activity that is inspiring to those members of the I. W. W. that see the spirit of these members when in action. Each local unit in the mine is solidly organized with the possible exception of the office help, and in many cases they are as good union men as the others.

Local strikes represent co-ordinated action and solidarity that is hard to beat. It is in the method of carrying on the industrial battles as a whole in the coal mining industry that the I. W. W. finds fault with this organization. Divided into districts with separate contracts expiring at different times it is hard to put up a united front to the boss though it is possible to do so providing there is solidarity displayed between the different districts.

Petty politics and personal quarrels often prevent such a display of solidarity. Cowardliness on the part of officials is also responsible and the traitorous actions of some of the bourgeois minded representatives of the miners inclines one to hate organization that centralizes power in the hands of executives.

Yet such centralized power, if used for the good of the workers in the industry instead of the welfare of the individuals who are in office would make the mine workers the foremost battling organization in the world.

The British miners strike has just come to a compromised close. The American miners organization never had a better chance in its existence to promote international solidarity and enforce the

demand that no American coal be used for scab purposes.

With a giant treasury at its hand no attempt was made to follow the lead of the German and Russian miners, who, needy as they were, yet gave liberally to the cause of the workers of Great Britain. The policy and attitude of the officials of the United Mine Workers is utterly reactionary and hopeless. Their official magazine with a circulation of over four hundred thousand weekly copies is worse than the reactionary press. In the issue at hand—July the first, it prints an article entitled "American Legion's Heart Beats for Labor." Such twaddle, such reactionary nonsense from the strongest and really the best organized industrial organization in America.

Yet to show what can be done in the way of the class struggles one has but to go into the battle history of any of the local fights of the membership. The trouble with the United Mine Workers is that it is controlled by a machine through the use of caucuses and strict attention to business transacted in the organization.

When a local organization is liable to vote contrary to the machine policy they marshal all their big guns on that local and do their utmost to swing it into line. The rank and file of the miners are not reactionary. What they need to do is to machine up on the machine.

Caucuses and close touch with other groups of the rank and file will soon put the reactionaries out of the running. It is up to the militant members to lay out and carry through such a program and in a short time the miners of America will step out on the stage of world events invincible as a power for working class control of industries.

Alexander Howatt and August Dorphy, president and vice-president of the Kansas miners' district organization, were found guilty of violating the industrial court law of Kansas. The Kansas miners are not working until Howatt is released from jail. The rest of the organization is still on the job and the officialdom is not only not supporting Howatt but are secretly glad that he and his men are having the battle that may break them.

This lack of solidarity is criminal. That the membership of the United Mine Workers can long stand for it reflects a lack of organization ability that must be overcome. Lewis and his whole gang must be put out of office where they will be unable to betray the cause of working class solidarity.

The United Mine Workers must act together in their own common battles and what is the most important of all they must get in line to act for working class emancipation and working class control of industries the world over.

* * *

The Seamen's Strike

In the greatest marine strike in American history the sea workers of the different crafts of the A. F. of L. stuck out for eight weeks while their union

officials hobnobbed with legislators and quarreled with their fellow representatives.

In glorious A. F. of L. style the strike was swimmingly lost. The engineers, being far "superior" in social position to mere firemen and A. B.'s and the rest of the crafts too numerous to mention, compromised with the boss by accepting a fifteen per cent cut.

The rest of the workers were not only not considered but their craft officials were shown the gate. Most of the shipping on is now signed via the American plan.

With a picket front five thousand miles long to look after and thousands of members that needed relief and supplies stretched along this mileage there was need for the moment to forget the craft tactics and pay attention to the battle of fighting the boss. In a measure some things were done along this line but nearly all of the activities were initiated by militant members of the rank and file.

The west coast seamen are continuing the battle alone after the rest of the country has been give up by the officials.

The labor generals, without plans of battle, with no contact with the membership except through appointees of the main offices and the usual dues collecting machinery, were frightened and helpless and resorted to the only tactics that they knew, political lobbying with the bosses.

It is heartrending to see such splendid rank and file spirit thrown to the winds in such vapid and self-doomed organization tactics. Think of the waste of it all, those watchful picket squads that guarded the welfare of the workers in far off ports of Alaska, in the great docks and moorings of Seattle, in the little lumber ports of Washington and Oregon, in Portland, Frisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, in the cotton ports of Texas and the wharves and docks of Louisiana and the eastern Gulf, from north to south on the Atlantic coast where the great trade centers are. The victory so certain and so sure with that display of courage and of solidarity on the part of the members was thrown away because they were organized in crafts with craft officials and craft ideas.

Yet in one sense no fight is thrown away. The seamen have learned a lesson, not the lesson of servility, but the lesson of the need for greater solidarity, the need of industrial unionism and industrial tactics.

The seaman today faces the open shop, the miserable conditions of all the olden days. He need not face them long. Organization on the correct lines, doing away with cringing co-operation with the boss for the sake of a contract will be a start. Real ship committees and active class struggle through job organization is the step that will bring the seamen from their defeat to greater victory than would have been won had the bosses given in to dues collecting A. F. of L. officialdom.

The Latest Popular Song

Slopperene - It Contains Hog Fat

Words by Jim Seymour
Music by the Singer

Mary Jane Carter got work, as a starter
At 6.87 a week;
She weighed out potatoes and wrapped canned
tomatoes
And acted the humble and meek.
The boss was a robber and threatened to mob her
If ever she made a mistake—
He needed the jinglings for wifey's high minglings,
So Mary Jane's health he must break.
And wifey would say
At the close of the day:

Mary Jane Carter was only a starter,
She didn't last very damned long;
Her skin it was yellow, her lungs they were mellow,
So Mary was not very strong.
The work it had knocked her and one day the doctor
Called on her and ordered a hearse,
So Mary was buried in manner quite hurried
And John's wife repeated this verse
(Oh, hark to her say
At the close of the day):
(Repeat refrain very bullissimo).

Oh John, you're such good old scout,
As useful as can be;
You gouge the help that never yelp
And bring the dough to me.
And thanks to all your piles of tin
I've grown a secondary chin;
I know you're hard as nails, but hully gee,
I love to see them worked to death for me.

The Ring Around German Capitalism

THE Majority Socialists and Independents boast of having saved the German working class by consenting to the conditions of the Entente ultimatum. Owing to their cowardice and indecision, they are so firmly convinced of the unconquerable and inescapable nature of capitalism, that to them the saving of capitalism appears as the most important thing of the hour, even though it is equivalent to the destruction of the proletariat.

The carrying out of the ultimatum depends on the raising of the export trade, which will require from the working class impossible sacrifices and greatly increased production. But even so, if it should be possible, through the cowardice and treason of the menshevist leaders, to enslave labor beneath this yoke, under which it would eventually be destroyed, still would all the sacrifices brought to the altar of capitalist profit be made in vain.

The carrying out of the terms of the ultimatum, through the abnormal increase of the export trade, will not only be impossible because the physical and spiritual strength of the proletariat will not be equal to these enormous requirements, but also because of the inherent conflicting interests of the capitalist classes of opposing countries; and further because the economic crisis in all capitalist countries will compel them to adopt means of defense against the competition of German commerce.

Besides, the capitalists of other countries are attempting to become the masters of German imports and exports. They do this, on the one hand, by doing everything in their power to strengthen and increase their own industry and commerce through state credits, state export policy, etc., and, on the other hand, by making practically impossible the heightening of the German export trade, by imposing high import and export tariff rates.

In America, as yet, the different capitalist groups have not agreed among themselves upon the details of this plan. Besides the raising of the import taxes, based on the prevailing American prices, several groups of industrial capitalists, especially those who have come into prominence during the war, are working for the passage of laws which would prohibit import trade from Germany. The following is what Dr. Charles Herty of New York, the chairman of the American Chemical Society, has to say on this subject:

"Although the American manufacturers of dye stuffs have sunk \$100,000,000 in the building of factories, they cannot withstand, without the help of defensive laws, the onslaught of German competition in the field."

Henry Howard, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, writes:

"We shall not consent to lose the benefits which we have gained through the war. German money has now only one-eighteenth of its pre-war value.

Were German labor paid eighteen times as much now as before the war, German competition would not be especially harmful to us, but German labor actually receives, at present, only seven or eight times as much as it did then. If, therefore, after peace is signed, Germany is again allowed unhindered to export its products, it is self-evident that American industry must go under, unless a compensating and prohibitive tariff is set up."

Otto Meinicke, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Ornamental Glass Manufacturers of the United States, writes:

"Importers of German ornamental glass are able to sell the German products for \$5.60 per square foot, while American manufacturers, in order to exist, must charge \$12.72 per square foot. Only by charging an import tax of \$8.00 per foot, and on top of that, 45% of the value of the product, can the American industry be built up."

According to the latest reports, the following far-reaching clause has been added to the Tariff Law: "Every foreign exporter who refuses to submit his accounts to the American inspector will be excluded from the American market."

The import of dye-stuffs has been put for six months in the hands of the Federal Trade Board. Hoover declared in one of his speeches that it is absolutely essential that steps be taken against foreign trade competition: "The bill for the raising of the import tax on foreign commodities has already been passed by the Senate."

Ever since the conclusion of peace, it has been England's aim, above everything else, to destroy German competition by all and any means. Besides the 50% import tax which now, as a result of the last ultimatum, has been lowered to 26%, certain commodities are not allowed to be imported at all. For instance: The import of dye stuffs has been forbidden for 10 years. As a further measure can be considered the protective tariff and the Anti-dumping Law passed recently at its first reading. It will help to protect the so-called "key industry" of England and Ireland for the duration of 5 years with an import tax of 33 and one-third per cent.

The groups of commodities which come under the jurisdiction of the above law comprise some of the most important and most valuable products of German industry. They are, among others, all of the optical instruments, glass and porcelain ware, measuring instruments and other products of fine mechanism, manufactured articles of precious metal, carbon for incandescent lamps, and other chemicals.

The Anti-dumping Law is intended to prevent underbidding in Britain's lands. On specified articles, the importation of which into certain countries has been partly forbidden, beside the regular tax a special tax of 33 and one-third per cent has been imposed. The importation of dye stuffs has also been forbidden into Australia, and in Canada the

taxes on alcohol, alcoholic essences and wines have been greatly raised. Furthermore, the tariff law has taken on the appearance of an anti-dumping prohibition.

The French government also plans the raising of the import tariff "which has become necessary on account of the depreciation of the Mark, in order to compete favorably with the German import trade into France." Recently, a conference took place in Lyons, at which representatives for the French hat and machine industries put forth pleas for the raising of the import taxes. The importation into the French colonies of German chemicals and pharmaceutical products and dye stuffs has been forbidden.

The importation into Italy of fur and fashion products and artificial and decorative flowers has been completely forbidden. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" has this to say on the working out of the above prohibitive measures:

"The prohibition of the exportation of products of the German decorative industry has narrowed the field of this industry to such an extent that the further prohibition of the Italian market is bound to have a disastrous effect on it. After this market has been closed, there will be practically no outlet for the products of the German artificial-flower industry as well as other allied industries."

Last month a conference took place in Mailand, with representatives of the Italian industries of heavy products, in which measures were taken against the increasing competition of German industry. Propositions were made partly to prohibit the importation of certain industrial products as well as to noticeably raise the import tax.

There exists in Japan, since July of last year, an anti-dumping law. While up till now it had not been felt as being necessary, at present workable measures must be adopted for the protection of the Japanese market against overflowing by cheaper products of foreign countries. At the end of March the Japanese Parliament passed a bill dealing with the import and the raising of the tariff on chemicals, zinc, iron and steel products.

In order to protect the badly-hit industries of Switzerland—the number of the unemployed has risen in that country from the beginning of this year to the end of February, from 21,300 to 51,000, to which must be added 100,000 who work only part-time—which have suffered especially on account of the country being flooded by products of other lands, the Swiss government has been compelled to put into effect a prohibitive tariff. The German-Swiss Chamber of Commerce, which was opposed to the above measure, was compelled to disband on the 6th of June.

In discussing unemployment in the Dutch Chamber of Commerce, the representatives of many industrial groups complained about the extent of German competition. Through the policy of the minister of commerce, the Netherlands' industry has been put on its feet, only owing to the passage of a number of orders prohibiting import.

Orders have been passed in Czecho-Slovakia forbidding the import of chemicals.

To what extent the German export trade has been hit by the decisions of the countries mentioned above will be seen from the following table:

| In million marks | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------|
| Exported To | Jan. to Aug. 1920 | % of exports |
| Holland | 8600 | 21 |
| Switzerland | 3700 | 9 |
| The Balkan States | 452 | 1 |
| Italy | 1100 | 3 |
| Belgium | 1200 | 3 |
| France | 1200 | 3 |
| England | 2600 | 6 |
| United States | 2900 | 7 |
| Other countries (Japan, India Canada) | 4900 | 10 |
| | | Total 63% |

So we see that 63% of the German export trade, or almost two-thirds of it, is threatened. Besides this, we find ourselves only at the beginning of this movement. Other countries as well—Sweden, Norway and Spain—are contemplating the passage of similar protective measures. The cutting off of German foreign commerce means more unemployment, greater misery and hunger for the German proletariat. There is no way out for the German bourgeoisie. Its hands are completely tied by the Western capitalist countries. It is the duty of the proletariat to open, against the desire of the bourgeoisie, the door to the East, which offers the only way out of the blind alley of industrial depression and misery.

Translated from Die Rote Fahne.

THE EDUCATED AMERICANS

In the United States the percentage of illiteracy is about seven and seven tenths per cent of the total population over ten years of age. This means that one out of every fourteen persons over ten years of age is illiterate. One at once thinks of the ignorant foreigner and says what a pity they don't know anything.

But the statistics from which the above figures were gathered state that over three per cent of the native born white population of that age belongs to the illiterate class. In other words the Negroes, who are compelled to be ignorant by every force and custom within the power of the master whites, and the foreigners both together only make up four and seven tenths of the illiterates in the United States.

In Holland, Denmark, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland the native white population show a smaller per cent of illiterates than do the whites of America. Some other foreign countries are supposed to also show better results than the United States but no official and exact census has been taken.

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INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE AND ORGANIZATION

THE abyss into which the world is slipping industrially can only be avoided, by reorganizing industry.

Laws, politics, finance, armament, tariffs, and suffrage are matters that are outside and beyond the point. The crux of the question is in the production and distribution of the needs and luxuries of life.

The present arrangement of the process of securing food, clothing, shelter and amusement has been developed by the workers for the benefit of the owning class in society. The owners will not give up their position of control no matter if the whole world perish.

The reorganization of industry is the task of those who are not owners but producers. Their lives and the lives of all the world, parasites included, depend on their success.

The first step in industrial re-organization is to secure control of the industries. They belong to the workers who built them. The working class must take them over, or go on down the abyss.

The first step in gaining control of the industries is in getting organized into industrial unions. We of the I. W. W. have a nucleus for those unions already organized in a unified and coordinated way according to the plan set out in our chart.

The problem of the I. W. W. and the problem of life continuance is how to organize the working class of the world into those unions and how to exercise the power of organization so as to displace the capitalists owners and develop efficient industrial organs of production and distribution.

Today is no question of waiting for capitalism to break down. It has broken down and is today dragging five million unemployed in the United States into death and degradation. Half a million workers are now on the roads and in the jungles of hobodom. Men and women and children are found on the highways with no work, no food and no shelter except that furnished by the begging, stealing ways of vagabondage.

Our need is to organize hundreds, thousands, millions of workers so that we can act together efficiently in a big all inclusive plan of action which must be worked out now.

We of the I. W. W. have decided once for all that there must be centralized executive organs, to evolve and put across such a plan with the aid of the membership. Now is no question of theory. The question is one of action.

In order to draw up detailed plans for organization campaigns in the different industries we must study and chart out those industries on maps and diagrams just as we charted out our organization's relation to society.

We must get accurate industrial data for our industrial charts and draw up plans for concerted action in the industry we intend to centralize on first. Then the executive bodies of the I. W. W. will be able with accuracy and immediate results, to direct organization and educational drives that will put us in the position of industrial power.

Once that power is achieved we can then take over and operate the industries for the benefit of the working class.

One Union for All of Us

By Tom Barker

THE worker who follows the deep water is the most isolated of the sons of men.

His home is a stinking hole, the food he eats is small in quantity and poor in quality. The shore world conspires against him, from the shanghaier and the harlot down to the policeman. His officers maltreat and cheat him, and the shipowners—arrogant, bloated and stingy—buy up the union leaders and their scurvy, rough-house myrmidions.

The consuls are against their unfortunate countrymen who go to sea, following in the footsteps of their politicians who have never yet done a thing for marine workers that was worth the paper it was written on.

To the seaman, life is just hell. Yet it is their industry that is, in the future, going to make even the life of the wheelsman and the coal-passer worth while. When all the labor front is in motion, the momentum is felt on every ocean route. Every black smur of smoke rising on the horizon marks, in the wilderness of waters, some shrine where crude and slow thinking men are desperately fighting down their own ignorance and seeking to coin into terms of speech their hopes and fears for the future.

To these men the union is everything. It is their only friend, weak and unreliable as it has been in the past. Political platitudes and phrases mean less than nothing to a million and a half of workers of every nationality under the sun, who do the same work, live the same lives and die the same deaths.

The union, and that union **ONE UNION**, is the only gathering-ground for sweating underdogs who have gambled life, limb and love itself for a mouldy crust, so that a world of land-dwellers could have their every desire fulfilled. From the port jail to the ocean floor—how often has that been the last journey of the human flotsam and jetsam who toil on tramps, square-

riggers, liners and barques? The writing is on the wall. Pliable things change, rigid ones die.

There are gorgeous sunsets and sunrises at sea. The London, Paris and New York proletarians caged in their brick cemeteries do not know what the sun looks like, nor could they appreciate the millions of tints that adorn the sky when the King of Day rises, Neptune-like, from the black waters of the east. No one who is not of the sea can understand the man who lives on the sea. Now and then a Conrad, a London or a Bullen analyses his complexities, breathes in the printed word the tang of salt, the smell of tar and the aroma of cockroach-haunted foc's'les.

There is a mighty fellowship growing up on the sea. In spite of color, and in blissful indifference to the influence of so-called religion, solidarity is growing and gripping the hand and heart of the pariah and the dispossessed of the deep waters. In many ports and in many seas it manifests itself, and when it does so the whole world knows.

The crude and hardened men grope towards the light, slowly articulating their simple code. "One union for all of us" are the words they are using. You hear it on every hand. Go to the Liverpool waterfront and see the serious faces and note the enormous respect that is afforded to the man who proposes the One Union and can say half a hundred words in a strong, Mercey accent pointing out the reason why it should be so.

"One union for all of us"—for US, the bottom-diggers, the unwanted, the stiffs, the overalled and oily, the guys who have spanned the trackless waterways with traffic, which you can trace on the ocean floor by the victims of storm, mine and submarine. "One union for all of us!!!" Wherever we are, night watch or day, port or two thousand miles from land; whether the pitch is oozing out on deck or you are

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

catching frostbite up in the rigging in a howling, 40-mile blizzard, let us have "One union for all of us!"

"One union" for sailors, firemen, bosuns, carpenters, stewards, cooks, sailmakers, messboys, engineers, oilers, skippers, donkeymen and mates.

"One union" for limejuicers, Swedes, Japs, Chilenos, Downeasters, Danes, Deutchers, Americanos, Spaniards, Greeks, Arabs, Negroes, Dutchmen, Australian, Chinese, Malays and Lascars.

"One union" at Panama, Suez and Kiel, Genoa, Antwerp and Newport News, Liverpool, San Francisco, and Canton; Hamburg, Marseilles and Saigon, Santos, Glasgow and Montreal; Sydney, Odessa and Valparaiso; New Orleans, Rotterdam and Auckland.

And in Petrograd, on the 7th of August, 1921, there will be seen the founding of the Marine Transport Workers' Union. "One union for the whole lot of us!" Good-bye, boss!!



The Rubiyat of El Vagabondia

At dawn when dews bedeck the tulips face
Ere Morning's sun may all the night erase,
I love to see the slaves in sweaty duds
Toil on—at record breaking pace.

Slaves are they; bowed beneath autocracy
They have no time for wob philosophy,
Just work and eat and sleep, and work some more
They never heard of solidarity.

The Scissor never asks the Reason why
He does his work without a single sigh,
But turn an agitator lose on him
Methinks he will recover by and by.

And those who harvested the golden grain,
Alike in Summer's Sun and Autumn's Rain,
Where are they when the North Wind brings the
snow,
Is there for all this Labor then no gain?

Now I remember, stopping by the way
To watch a potter thumping his wet clay,
And cursing while he worked I think he spoke
Some words about long hours and little pay.

T'was workers who with shovel, bar and maul,
Across the prairies wide and mountains tall,
Laid all these endless miles of railroad track,
And now they will not let them ride at all.

You built the roads with others of your kind,
Now o'er its path your weary footsteps wind,
While those who never worked may ride in ease
You walk, and walk, and walk, a weary grind.

For as you lay upon the box car floor,
You hear the shack come banging at the door,
You know that once again you'll have to hike
To the next town; it's fifty miles or more.

Wake! for the time has come when Labor's might
Shall banish from the Earth eternal Night,
And in the coming day we shall enjoy
Full product of our toil, so now unite!

Come make the most of what we yet may spend
Before we too into the dust descend,
Why slave our lives away for other men,
Why not to all this robbery make an end.

Hark! list ye to the call from out the night,
Wage Workers, Men and Women, all Unite,
Cast Slavery's weary chains from off your back,
And Stand Erect, United in Your Might.

AND NEVER FORGET

Here's to the Red Card Boys, Staunch and True
Who did not flinch their Little (?) Bit to do—
A Prison Cell for men who Dare to Speak,
Shall it be ever thus?

IT'S UP TO YOU.

WASTE

By Walter N. Polakov

IF AMERICAN industry, personified by its captains, financiers and managers had been indicted by a grand jury for murder, arson and disorderly conduct in conspiracy to overthrow the existing government and to restrain trade, it would have caused a great sensation. On June 3, 1921 at St. Louis, Missouri, seventeen industrial experts, engineers appointed by Mr. Herbert Hoover, representing about 200,000 engineers of this country, organized in the Federation of American Engineering Societies, adopted and made public, at least in abstract, a report of the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry.

This committee was not a casual list of incompetent jurors—it was a representative body of industrial councillors, whose demonstrated ability to reduce waste is widely known. Neither could these men possibly be suspected of un-americanism or extremism.

By nature, conviction and income, they are and they desire to be conservative. Least of all, do they seek sensation. Yet their findings, if stated in legal terms, might exhaust the vocabulary of our Criminal Code.

In their own words, this report “discloses losses and waste due to the restraint and dissipation of the creative power of those who work in industry” and, they think, “it lays the foundation for knowledge of the destructive influences” controlling our industrialism . . .

What are then the findings of these engineers?

“Waste,” they found, “results from an interruption of production, low production, restriction of production and lost production.”

Let us see what it means.

Interrupting Production

Interruption of production is only too well known to us today when over 5,000,000 men with 20,000,000 dependents are locked out, jobless, nearing hourly destitution if not desperation. We have had

periodic crises: 1893, 1907-8, 1914, 1920, when production was restrained in order to maintain high prices which the limited earnings of the population were unable to meet.

We also know that seasonal interruption of production in the majority of industries is artificially created. We know too that production is interrupted when men are sick and that our state of industrial hygiene is such that 42,000,000 persons are losing about 350,000,000 working days' production per year due to accidents and sickness of which 42 per cent are preventable. Authorities agree that 75 per cent of deaths and serious accidents in American industry can be prevented by using methods already perfected.

Intermittent employment is likewise preventable for it is due to lack of co-ordination between related industries, the failure of management to link up sales policies with production policies, lack of planning, lack of research, speculative purchases, shut downs for inventory-taking instead of using permanent inventories, etc.

Low Production

Low production is likewise a time-honored ill of our industries. The report does not evaluate loss of productivity by comparing what is being done with what can be done but merely with what actually is accomplished in the best existing establishments. This method makes their findings ultra conservative, placing waste between thirty per cent and forty per cent while actually we produce much less than one half of what we could if we cared to (with present management).

Obviously the losses of this class are also preventable, for this form of waste represents nothing but failure to apply fully our resources of knowledge, means of production, and materials. Modern technology and management engineering possess today a vast amount of knowledge which is not used.

Plants are usually over-equipped in an-

icipation of future growth and **nearly half of the machinery constantly remains unproductive.** Stocks of raw materials purchased in speculation and stocks of finished and semi-finished goods are much in excess, usually from four to ten times larger than is reasonably necessary.

Restriction of production, on which the report apparently lays considerable stress, is, similarly, purely an artificial ill. It is due, we are told, to many causes, such as fear of dropping prices if an adequate amount of goods is produced, and to the fact that only owners of patents, trade marks and other protective legalities can produce certain useful goods and can restrain others from doing so, etc.

Slow Work Means More Employment

It is also found that the employes restrict output, but while they are doing so by "limiting the rate of speed of output of individual workmen," says the report, **the employers "usually limit the total output of an industry."** Limited individual output, of course, could be **more than offset by employment of a larger number of men** but limitation of the output of an entire industry creates both **shortage of goods** for the whole country (and high prices) and **shortage of employment.**

From even this brief review of some outstanding phases of this report, it is quite clear that its conclusion, featured in the daily press, showing that 50 per cent of waste at least is due to management while loss due to labor is but 25 per cent, is not an exaggeration, but a decided soft-pedaling.

For what are, after all, the factors in waste caused by labor? Incompetence, slow working and conflicts are the chief ones. Yet it is the **duty of the management to train workers and to make them competent and skilful. Slow rate of work, likewise, is partly a reaction against the unreasonable attitude of many managers in cutting the piece rates, and partly an attempt to relieve the suffering of those unemployed—1,000,000 persons "normally" and over 5,000,000 today,—by offering them room in industry.**

Lastly, the waste caused by conflicts and strikes is dismissed by the report as "much less than popularly supposed", and as occurring chiefly in seasonal industries.

Time Only Can Be Wasted

Let us stop here for a while and ask ourselves a question: What is waste and what is its significance? Let us keep away from metaphysics and supernatural speculations. In positive science, we deal with only three measures: space, matter and time; everything else is derived from these. Waste, therefore, to be real and not fictitious, must be reckoned in these units. If the cause does not produce the possible maximum result—we call it a waste, waste of material, waste of time or any function of these—like waste of energy, waste of life, waste of knowledge.

Now, let us go a step farther. Nature does not know losses. Matter cannot be annihilated nor can energy be dissipated. It does not make any difference for the universe whether it takes 10,000 years or 100,000 for the fern to become anthracite for there is nothing lost in this process of making coal out of plants.

Yet, if mortal man will not reckon with the time that his work takes, he will rapidly be reduced to a savage state and the population of the world will shrink to a number which Nature unaided could feed, clothe and house. It is thus plain that **time is the only necessary and sufficient measure of human progress and of human waste.**

Waste in Labor Hours

With this measure we can size up the significance of our losses. Waste of one ton of coal unproductively burned under a boiler does not mean the loss of 2000 pounds of carbon and other elements, for they are still present in the air, and ashes may even be usefully employed in road building. Loss of five dollars is not loss either—it is simply money passed from hand to hand.

This ton of coal wasted is one of the thousand which a miner has dug out during a year of his life. He worked two hundred days a year and this one ton represents one hour and thirty-six minutes of his life.

If we waste, because of reckless methods of firing, twenty-five per cent of our coal, it does not mean that we waste \$750,000,000 but that **we waste the lives of 150,000 men each year, not only utterly uselessly for the country, but we keep them in a needless treadmill, in solitary confinement underground!**

Similarly, if we have built a machine and use it only half the time, what we waste is half of the productive life-time for those who invented, designed and built that machine. Likewise, if we keep materials and ideas idle, we dissipate the life-time of those who worked them out and we imperil, and sometimes actually destroy, the lives of those from whose use these goods and ideas were withheld.

Time Factor Unconsidered

In the absence of this clear, definitely human measurement and sizing up of industrial wastes we see a tragic shortcoming in this report. Of all the people, the engineers should have been the last ones to confuse the dimensions! The engineers would scoff at one who added yards to cubic inches or attempted to measure the strength of a bridge in gallons.

Yet, living in an age of double standards, they blundered themselves, confusing classes, all their college training in mathematically correct thinking notwithstanding. The report pathetically attempts to express the harm of idle equipment in billions of dollars, preventable disease and death as equal to \$3,000,000,000, as if each human corpse has a value of so much a pound!

Material wealth and its possession is in space. It can be acquired, exchanged and moved from one place to another, whereas human creative capacity can be measured only in time, not only because our life-time has a supreme value and cannot be indefinitely extended, but because men are the only living creatures that can bind time and achievements of the past generations with the present, and pass on their knowledge and render service to the future. Moreover, because time is the only thing that stands between the cause and the effect, we cannot think correctly un-

less we are careful in analyzing what is the cause and what is the effect.

The engineering report falls into the tenets of this long honored fallacy. It attempts to measure the human worth of life in yards, tons and dollars—all space measures, instead of measuring it in the units of a life-time, say in the hours of mans life which were either wasted in producing something which is unnecessary or harmful, or in producing something which, though necessary, is unduly slow or which is not lasting.

Confusion of Cause and Effect

Stil another deplorable limitation of this report is that it mysteriously confuses causes and effects. Waste is described as a result of idleness, restriction and interruption of production, etc. Yet idleness, etc., is the waste or act of wasting time, that is, life, and of life sustaining production. But let us assume that waste is understood by the writers of the report in the lower dimension,—as mere loss of monetary profit. Even so there is no evidence that the restraint of production or sales policy is the cause; it is in itself caused by an economic regime where waste is a system. The report thus fails to live up to its proclaimed purpose to “lay the foundation for knowledge.”

Because of this timidity of the authors of the report to get to the fundamental cause of industrial wastes, their recommendations are also not fundamental but palliative, based on the **uncritical assumption that the powers that be of our economic society are willing to eliminate waste.** Yet an element of doubt may be suspected in that the proposed program calls for “governmental assistance” as a co-ordinating and **coercive** agency, forcing the carnage of “**taking**” into orderly “**rending of service.**”

To conclude this brief review of the momentous engineering report on waste, one should remember the noble hope of its authors, that “from this knowledge will grow the certain vision that mental and moral forces must be added to the physical resources now employed, if industry is to serve all” . . . **Indeed, an industry as described, devoid of mental force and lacking in morality, is but a monstrous Frankenstein—the author of its own undoing and a scourge to all mankind.**

The Lunch Hour Gang Discusses Nationalism

YOU couldn't stop them from "chewing the rag" with a fire-hose. They were at it, as soon as they met one another on the way to work and in the shop, whenever opportunity offered while at work. But it was the noon-day lunch "hour" that gave them all the best chance at argument, some of it rough and ready, and all of it interesting.

This noon they got around to the "damned foreigners," after they had "passed up," that is, discussed, every subject, apparently, under the sun.

"Aw," said "Shorty" Phelps, "They oughta stop them cheap guys comin' in here from across the pond! I say 'America for Americans,' them's my sentiments."

"It's good," observed "Tim" Connors dryly, "it's good the Indians couldn't enforce that slogan, or none of us would be here!"

All hands gave "Shorty" the laugh.

Then "Doc" Thompson spoke up. Now "Doc" had acquired his sobriquet because of his ability to make a good chemical analysis of the various kinds of liquors, and to prescribe them accordingly. In addition, he was well read and almost scholarly in his literary tastes and talk. "Doc" coughed slightly, and then spoke up. Said he:

"It appears to me that this idea of 'America for Americans' ought to be more closely observed by our financeers—I call them 'ours' because they are the ones who stick to us so closely while plucking us, that they can hardly be distinguished from us; otherwise we have nothing in common."

The close attention with which he was followed, and the laugh that greeted this sally, encouraged "Doc" to continue, thusly:

"These men, who are economically the greatest factors in this country's development, and who derive the most wealth from it, and, therefore, should be our foremost patriots,—these men seem most intent, not on financing 'America first,' but on the extension of their financial control abroad. They are allied with French, English, German, and Japanese bankers in the development of China; they are financing Germany, and are in a so-called world-trust with English and German financiers for the commercial exploitation of Russia. They are making immense loans to Canada, France and England, both governmental and industrial. They are represented in all the international financial conferences and meetings of the international chambers of commerce. In fact, they seem to be more active abroad than at home. They also seem to be, in my opinion, more international than national."

"They have got to be," chimed in Sam Redding, who was known as the 'forum hound,' from his habit of attending all the open forums in town.

"How's that?" asked all the rest of the "gang" simultaneously.

"Well, if you read H. G. Wells, you'd know!" said Sam tersely.

"Aw, can that high brow book stuff!" exclaimed "Shorty," in disgust.

"I'd like to can a little of it in your cranium," retorted Sam, and all "the gang" laughed—they were familiar with "Shorty's" and Sam's temperamental and intellectual differences.

"Aw, cut out that smart stuff, Sam, and give us the rest of your dope," urged "Limpy" Long, so named because of his lame, limping leg.

"Well," resumed Sam, "Wells says that all the countries of Europe must expand economically, even if they have to overlap national barriers—the machinery of production, its international sources, character and outlets require it, and make it necessary. Now, Wells might have said the same thing of the U. S., where production is on an even greater scale than in Europe and where the need for economic expansion is correspondingly greater."

"Hey, Sam; for Christ's sake, where in hell do you get all that lingo, and what in hell does it all mean?" broke in "Shorty."

"Aw, dry up!" "Go way back and sit down!" "Cut out the racing stuff and you'll get a chance to know something."

"Give the ponies a rest, and your brains more exercise! Go ahead, Sam; don't mind him; he's full of prunes, anyway!" shouted "the gang" in unison.

"Oh, "Shorty" is only bluffing; he is not the damn fool he pretends to be," said Sam, consiliatorily.

"Now wait a minute, Sam; let me but in," broke in "Jonesy," the machinist's helper. "Where do the workingmen get off in all this stuff?"

"Now you're asking something, "Jonesy," boy!" shouted "the gang" approvingly.

"That's the question, Jonesy, that's the question," repeated Sam. "It seems to me that in order to fit into this change at all the workingmen will be forced to expand, too. That is, they'll have to become internationalists, too. Just think, Jonesy, when you grow up and some American corporation sends you abroad to help open up some of its foreign works, just think who'll be the 'damned foreigners' then, just think of how this 'damned' foreignerism will disappear in the intermixing of the nationalities that this economic expansion will compel. Why, even now the labor organizations of Europe and America are getting together in accordance with this expansion of national capitalisms. It's a great development, from which the workingmen here can't escape even if they want to!"

Just then the powerhouse whistle called all "hands" back to work with a rush, excepting "Jonesy," who lingered behind in order to ask more questions and to get the thing straight in his own mind.

J. E.

Organization in the Lumber Industry

THE only labor organization in the lumber industry at the present time, that has the slightest respect of the workers in the industry, is the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. Its battles in this industry have been many; some have been won and some lost. Yet, regardless of any of its defeats, it stands far out and above any other group, both in courage and in honesty of purpose.

The most rapid growth of the I. W. W. in the lumber industry occurred during 1917. It was a result largely of spontaneous rebellion on the part of the workers in that industry. It was not brought about by carefully laid plans and executed maneuvers of a centralized labor executive body.

The successes of the I. W. W. can be attributed to the fact that their tactics are the only ones acceptable to the lumber workers. The A. F. of L. and similar unions refused to take into account the class antagonisms that were rife through the industry; they failed to convince the workers.

The terrible conditions in the lumber camps created a situation which was easily controlled, without much effort, by the I. W. W. The workers in that industry, however, even while they were striking, were properly impressed neither with the value of disciplined organization, nor with that of revolutionary education. The tactics used in the great strikes were largely improvised by the separate groups on the spur of the moment.

Yet, because of the rapid movements of the small minority of the old-time members who really directed the strike, the battle took on much of a uniform character. After the fight for the eight-hour day was won, the organization seemed to fail to hold the new members that had been gathered in. The voluntary centralization that had grown up during time of action had insufficient expression in the big machinery which had rapidly, and often carelessly, developed.

It is readily admitted that in many sections the organization was entirely too top heavy with new members, to permit a successful democratic functioning until such a time as the new members could have been educated. However, no organs of centralized control and of executive power had been installed, so it is not to be wondered at that many of the new members dropped out, in view of the persecution and villification that was heaped on the membership.

In point of theory, the I. W. W. is highly centralized. Due, however, to the sudden success of the spontaneous strike policy during 1917, centralized organs have not evolved, as they should have after the victory for the centralizationists in 1913. Great need for centralized organs existed then and exists now, and this need, wide-felt, is causing such organs to be created more in an evolutionary manner than according to a blue-printed theory.

New Tendencies

The last convention took some steps to further change the organization as a whole, from a propaganda organization to one of industrial power. This will affect the lumber workers as well as others. To properly administrate a centralized lumber workers' organization, the central executives must have access to properly organized data of the lumber industry. This data they cannot procure from capitalist research sources. It must be dug out by the lumber workers themselves.

The capitalist organization of the lumber industry has been rather haphazard, and with no general plan for efficient exploitation of the timber supply. The individual capitalists have purchased sections of timber, and with no idea of co-ordinating the cutting of their holdings with general industrial methods, they have gone ahead and erected mills, camps, roads and power sites with no concern than their own small immediate plan.

These units have been scattered haphazard across the country. No unified plan, no data of productivity, no knowledge of proper technical methods were employed by the early capitalists. We see now in the lumber industry a jumble of competitive plants with no correct engineering plan of production. They co-operate on the marketing of products and solidly unite to fight organized labor.

Getting the Facts

To properly battle these organized lumber barons, we must get the industrial facts which they have neglected. We must study the lumber industry, not from the point of view of finance but from the point of view of actual production. We must know the location and strategic value of every plant in the lumber industry. We must have easily accessible charts so that this knowledge can be drawn on at all times.

Using this industrial knowledge as a basis, we must draw up plans, regular campaigns for organization and education. In the past we have been attacking the lumber barons in much the same manner as they have been tackling the lumber production problem. We have not gone into the game with a unified plan of action. We have only tackled them as the special case seemed to call for.

With a unified, executive plan, concurred in by the membership and based on the actual facts of industry, we could hit such a wallop as to jar the old plute into a knowledge that we were really alive. With such a plan laid down we could organize flying squadrons of militant members working directly under orders from the central executive office. We would tackle the enemy section by section, one locality at a time with overwhelming numbers. We would be able to throw our greatest strength into sections where it was needed, with precision and an assurance of victory.

New Tactics

Three factors must enter into the new tactics, that will assure the lumber workers the power in that industry. First, centralized executive efficiency in all organization matters. Second, industrial knowledge such as the Industrial Research Bureau should be made to furnish. Third, the application of such knowledge by a self-disciplined rank and file, working in co-ordinated action.

These factors are not ideas put out by some individual to be followed by the rest. They are tendencies that are manifesting themselves in widely divergent parts of the organization. At the last Convention the centralization tendency was expressed in many resolutions submitted to the body. Among them were the clearing-house idea, the departmental system and the recommendations submitted by the General Executive Board.

Not only has the I. W. W. accepted in theory the idea of centralization, but they are working out plans for unity. They are giving careful study to methods by which centralization may be applied.

The Research Bureau has been established. While no really remarkable results have yet been achieved by this organ, of gathering industrial knowledge, yet the foundation is being laid for great results

along these lines. Financial stringencies are to be blamed for the slowness of action in this department.

In widely scattered articles in the I. W. W. press we hear calls for discipline. These items are a reflex of the general attitude of mind of the membership. Of course there is opposition to some of these ideas and developing tendencies but that they are maturing seems evident to the unprejudiced observer. The I. W. W. is evolving instruments of class emancipation from the material at hand. Industrial power will be achieved at the point of production whether times become better or not. The lumber workers are actively supporting centralization plans. The job branches have long been hailed as a means to solidify and make permanent reorganization work. The comparative success of this system of carrying on routine organization work has been demonstrated beyond doubt. The data of the mills and camps should make possible well laid plans which, if carried out, will mould a powerful as well as a constructive organization upon the job branch base. The catch-as-catch-can method of attack is well enough in a simple propaganda organization. When the aim is industrial power we must use bigger and more comprehensive methods.

Ownership Developments in American Basic Industry

By Perkins

THE great number of the American people still believe that the problem of social discontent can be solved by inducing the masses of laboring people who do not find a permanent employment in the industries to "go back to the farm." They are ignorant of the fact that farming has been entirely revolutionized within the last half-century, and that the possibilities for a city proletarian to become an independent farmer are about as great as those for a peanut vendor to become a captain of industry.

The invention of modern labor-saving machines has brought about the same changes in agriculture as it has done in industry. There has been going on, in agriculture, the same concentration of ownership as in industry. Just as a centralization of capital in industry has produced a class of industrial proletariat and city slums, so a concentration of the land, into the hands of a few, has produced a rural proletariat and rural slums. We are fast becoming a nation of landlords and tenants. In this process of social transformation we are repeating the history of Europe with its landed nobility and its peasantry who live in abject poverty.

In 1890 J. G. Collins, engaged in U. S. census work, computed that about 10 per cent of the total population of the United States owned about 90 per cent of the total land of the nation, urban as well as rural.

It is known that land monopoly has made the most alarming strides in this country within the last three-quarters of the century, and it is still growing by leaps and bounds.

Statistics show that during the short period of twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, the American Congress bestowed upon railroad corporations nearly 200,000,000 acres of the peoples patrimony, or an amount equal to one twelfth of the total area of the United States.

Fifty-six alien individuals and corporations own 26,816,390 acres of American soil; this is 1,678,000 more than is comprised in the states of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Delaware with their population of about nine million.

Sixty-three American corporations and individuals own 174,485,966 acres—or one-thirteenth of the total area of the United States.

Thirty-five persons and corporations own more than 5,000,000 acres in California.

And thus we have a few railroad corporations, fifty-six alien corporations and individuals and ninety-eight American citizens and corporations owning 419,034,899 acres of land, an amount equal to one-sixth of the total area of the United States.

As in industry great and powerful corporations have sprung up, so in agriculture the great landlord is becoming the dominant factor in determining the conditions of agricultural labor.

Half of the farm lands of Texas are included in 2.7% of the farms, according to Bulletin No. 39, 1915, University of Texas.

The Texas Land Syndicate No. 3 owns 3,000,000 acres in Texas. Another syndicate, the British Land Co. owns 300,000 acres in Kansas besides tracts in other states. The Duke of Sutherland owns hundreds of thousands, and Sir Edward Reid controls 1,000,000 acres—both in Florida.

A syndicate of Lady Gordon and the Marquis of Dalhousie controls 2,000,000 acres in Mississippi.

The Industrial Relations Committee reports that the farms of 1000 acres and over, at a valuation of \$2,333,000,000, comprise 19% of all the farm land of the country and are held by one per cent of farm owners. Not only is there an alarming concentration of farm lands in the hands of a few, but the same thing is true of timber lands. The Bureau of Corporations of the United States Government has found that 1802 holders of timber land had a total of 18,252,000 acres.

The Northern Pacific, the Southern Pacific (omitting the Union Pacific) and the Santa Fe hold 33,500,000 acres, or an area equivalent to that of the whole of England.

733 lumber holders have acreage equal to the territory of Ohio, W. Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky and one-third of Tennessee.

1694 holders own the equivalent of four-fifths of the area of France, or more than the entire state of California.

In Florida 18,949,000 acres, or 54% of the total area of the state, are held by 290 owners, these tracts ranging from 10,000 acres to 1,730,000 acres apiece. Twenty-four holders of over 130,000 acres each have 27.7% of the total area of the state.

In the mining industry there is a similar concentration of land ownership. In 1909 there were in the United States a total of 35,208 proprietors and firms engaged in the mining business.

In anthracite-coal mining 18 operators employed five-sixths of all the wage earners. In iron mining 9 operators employed one-half of the wage earners.

In bituminous coal mining 77 operators employed nearly one-half of the wage earners. The 8,703,000 acres of land furnishing raw materials in the mining industry is in the hands of the 116 operators listed above. According to the 1910 census, there are less than 6,000,000 farms in the United States employing more than 10,000,000. Out of this number there are about 2,500,000 transient laborers engaged in agriculture.

The average laborer's income at that time, for each person engaged in agriculture, slightly exceeded \$238 in the United States as a whole. They worked long hours and, in the majority of cases, their sleeping quarters were assigned in some of the stables or hay barns.

In the United States is being created a new privileged class of absolute landlords and a class of serfs in the form of tenants. The number of tenant farms has increased 130% in the last 30 years, while farm ownership has increased, in the same time, but 34%. It is in the great grain-growing districts of the Middle West and in the cotton and rice-growing districts of the South that tenantry has reached its greatest height and still shows the greatest tendency to increase. In the highest priced land of Illinois and Iowa the proportion of tenantry is increasing and the number of rural residents per square mile, is decreasing.

The economic position of the tenant is very far from being enviable. The competition of tenants for good land leads to a rise in rents which lessens the returns to the tenant until his total returns will not be better than the wages of the laborers in the industries.

The breaking down of the present capitalistic order of production is seen very well in the developments taking place in agriculture.

The creation of a large, ever-shifting population of farm laborers who find only a temporary employment on the farms, the reduction of the ever-increasing class of tenants to the status of unqualified laborers, the rise of a landed aristocracy in the form of absentee landlords, all tend to sharpen the class struggle in this country, which will ultimately and inevitably lead to the downfall of the present system of production. However, there are certain factors which might prolong the already senile life of capitalism in this country for an indefinite time. One of them is the lack of solidarity among the laboring population, which hinders organization and the acquiring of the spirit of cooperation and class-consciousness. But no matter how distant our final goal, we should work so much more strenuously towards liberating mankind from the slavery of capitalism.



California Agriculture Demands Industrial Tactics

By Mortimer Downing

INDUSTRIALIZATION of food production exhibits its influence in ranches of the Pacific Slope and especially in California. In present-day culture there are traces of the buccaneer-occupation of land by the Spaniards, and already trustified food culture is in full swing. To understand this region—its needs and absolute necessities—requires that the industrial organizer should appreciate the past competitive conditions and the present urge toward centralization of effort.

In Southern California are still imperial areas under a single ownership and exploited as a unit. Around them are intensively cultivated orchards or gardens—small in acreage, rich in yield. Produce runs the gamut from wheat, potatoes and cotton, necessities, to small vegetables and semitropical fruit, luxuries. There are no farms in California; every plantation is a ranch from the kitchen garden to the chicken yards of Petalunia. Climatic or regional conditions have developed special customs.

California may be described as 800 miles long by 250 miles wide. In this broad expanse the Commission of Immigration and Housing found 1500 labor camps employing from a score or so to thousands of hands. Carlton H. Parker in 1915 estimated the migratory workers in California to be 75,000 persons.

Such then is the human factor which the industrial organizer must mold before he can seize or control the vast membership of "home guard" labor which also functions in this Californian agricultural problem.

Products of Every Climate

Let us first survey the regional industrial geography. Climate varies from the soft, subtropical, frostless belt of the coast to the arid plains, torrid in summer, freezing in winter, but snowless—and then to the mountain areas with their warm "first benches" where ranges abound, and the high areas where summer is brief and winter is long. Apples and oranges grow prolifically in areas not far apart. Cotton in one place vies with the north temperate culture within a day's journey. Roses bloom in the coast warm gardens, and snow twenty feet deep covers heights not thirty miles away.

These conditions attract to the play ground the idle spendthrift as well as the thrifty, moderately rich grubber. In a word, the luxurious desires of the present ruling class seeks California as a home. All these factors must be reckoned with.

Development of Small Farms

These imaginative exploiters first stole the holdings of the bucolic Spanish grandees. From these

vast areas they raped the land of cattle, wheat and fruits. Fertilization was neglected. The soil was looted.

Years ago, spreads of 40,000 or 50,000 acres of wheat were known as "bonanza ranches." Then intruded the insistent little scizzor-bill. Here and there this class gained a foothold, as see Riverside and Redlands in the 80's. These little landers forced a "district irrigation" law in 1888 which was fought and denounced by the great exploiters as anarchistic, because it held that water owed a "public duty."

Irrigation, the basic need of small ranches, and "bonanza" wheat dry farming having clashed, there developed the present agricultural structure of California.

Co-ordinating the industry

Co-operation in exploitation was recognized as necessary. Hence alongside of the orchard is found the packing house. This unit is associated with other packing houses in a marketing concern, so that Californian fruit is not dumped into a middle-man's market, but from tree to table feels the fostering care of organized ownership.

Oranges, pears, grapes, peaches, apples only blossom and get their skins under individual supervision. Once picked; their way to the market is through the chutes of a socialized machine. Around every packing house a resident labor population grows up. Time put in at the packing plants can be estimated at a given number of weeks; other incidental employment can be figured on and a semi-static population results. These and the 75,000 migratory workers harvest the hundreds of millions of California food products. It has been estimated that potatoes alone have brought more wealth to the Golden State than all her mines.

The Labor Force

Survey the situation: a grape ranch of 100 productive acres has been planted for five years. Roughly speaking, the rancher secures a dozen or less home workers. These are for his stock, run the disc plows, etc., and carry on the routine work. He needs extra labor in the pruning and the picking seasons.

Newspapers advertise the rancher's labor needs. Ranchers stand at their front gates in harvest time and pick their "hands." Some engage man-catchers called "employment agents" in the cities. These agents merely put a sign out in the labor market and the migratory worker does all the rest, from auctioning to transporting himself to the job. For the mere address of a rancher the "working stiff"

mortgages away his first day's pay. Then he herds himself to the job and begins to heap up wealth for his smiling boss.

When the grapes are picked they go, largely, either to the winery or to the raisin boxes. The winery is closed, but the dry yards of the raisin industry are spreading wider. Pickers work on a tonnage basis. In the dry yards workers get various day wages, none high. Raisins have been selling at from six to ten cents a pound at the ranches. If workers would figure their value as pickers according to the product they would find that their

Association, the Citrus Culture Association, etc., who not only produce all this wealth of the ranch-side but ally themselves as shippers and merchants in distant markets. It is this associated power of the exploiters which fortifies the California ranchers.

Workers Organize

When the workers design an industrial organization, promptly the associated owners pass a law which declares labor unionists to be criminal syndicalists; and fourteen years in the penitentiary reward the spokesmen of toil. Jack Stiff must re-



wages—the most important factor in production because they harvest the wealth and work frantically—rarely compare as one to ten with the relative output of the ranch. Workers should accustom themselves to estimate their pounds of products per day and the current prices as gossiped by every fat-waisted employer they meet. Until the workers think in such terms they will fail to grasp the process in which they participate, or to learn why John Rancher feels poor with but two autos and Jack Stiff is rich with ten dollars and a blanket roll.

All the products then of these ranches are smoothly gathered into value heaps under Associated Ownership. There is the Raisin Growers'

member that in the 80's these same ranchers were denounced as anarchists because they demanded the right to organize and, as small organized producers, own the water of a district and the right to expropriate the princely proprietors who counted acreage in the hundred thousands rather than in the dozens.

In the lessons of the past California directs the wage workers to the Lincoln Highway of Freedom. "Organize!" shouts history. "Organize! Ye are many, they are few."

When the owners arrange the process of industry so that potatoes go from the field to the desiccating kiln; grapes to the dry yards and trays,

and thence to the communal-owned packing house; prunes from the tree to housewife; and all nature's bounty is ordered for the interest and glory of the few; then let the many grasp the principle of cooperative force.

Unions must be so formed that the home-guard and the hobo recognize a common interest, enlist themselves for a common end, and use their powers for a united gain. These ranchers got their start by organization. Jack Stiff, why may not you?

Factory System Used

Food production on the ranches of California resembles ordinary factory methods. The food goes from the soil direct to the preserving and packing processes close by, with all the efficiency of material going through a mill.

It varies in that all preparation for consumption occurs at the point of origin. In these circumstances the struggle between workers and employers is no longer the bargaining of the neighborhood poor with the local landlord but a battle pitched between organized employers and disorganized bands of wanderers, pitiful as beggars in their need, and with no higher form of organization than sheep. These forces meet at bargaining and the hobos lose.

As the manufacturing process' forces discipline and organization upon the factory slaves, so the disordered bands of mendicant migratory workers are compelled to organize. Therefore the brief history of the Ford and Suhr case will illustrate the persecution and tempering now thrust upon Jack Stiff and his kind. This battle took place in the hop fields.

Hop Yard Methods

By advertisement and other devices owners of the hop yards sought annually to attract thousands of workers to their fields. Stories of the delightful California climate were circulated in the east, with suggestions that a real picnic with profit and health was in store for anyone who would join the hop-pickers. Throughout the state, also, the unwary were annually lined up—at least 50,000 men, women and children were drafted.

In hop harvesting, the factory character of this agriculture is immediately seen. Hordes of unskilled labor are driven into the vines. The flowers are stripped and placed into bags. All workers are paid by the weight. They are assured that the ordinary worker can earn \$6 to \$8 a day. Averages about \$1.50 are as good as the pickers find. Picking is done on a bonus system, and in 1913 the offer was 90 cents per 100 lbs, with \$1.00 if the picker remained three weeks—the average season. In other words, the owners bet nothing against 10 cents that they could make the workers quit. They won 99 per cent of their bets. Why?

According to the investigations of the Housing Commission, temperature in the fields often ran above 120 degrees. Filth and disease ramped through the sleeping quarters. Hygiene was utterly

neglected. Men and women, boys and girls, stood in line to use toilets so foul and obscene that stomachs sickened. These were some of the loaded dice the boss rolled when he bet nothing against ten cents, that the toiler would quit before the job was ended.

When the hops were picked and bagged they were sent to the dryer under a number. Then the inspectors threw another pair of loaded dice. Vast quantities of hops were condemned as "dirty," and at the second verdict the worker was fined, that is, besides the confiscation of the condemned "pick," an amount of his already-passed product was grabbed though afterwards sold.

All this while the sun sweltered at 120 degrees. Some workers rose at 2 A. M., and were at work an hour later. They toiled and sweated until five or six in the evening. Their pick averaged under 150 pounds. Some few experts exceeded 500 pounds. One of the incidents of this picnic was hop poisoning, by which the picker's skin was infected by an eruption worse than poison ivy. Heroes indeed were these "picnicers"!

About seven pounds of ripe hops go to make one pound of dried hops. Then the product is baled and ready for shipment to New York or London. It will be noted that at no stage of this agricultural process is it other than a factory process. From the picking to the baling and shipping it is a modern industrial brutality. Concern for human life or comfort is expressed much like that of the cannibals at their feast.

In August, 1913, there were assembled on the Durst Ranches near Wheatland, California, 3000 workers of both sexes and all ages. They comprised twenty-seven nationalities. There were about a dozen toilets for this labor horde, and the whole mass was crowded into a field of scant acreage. In this filthy compound Durst Brothers charged rentals which netted them in excess of \$2000.00. The thirst was intolerable, whereupon a cousin of the family exercised the lemonade privilege and charged five cents a glass for citric acid and water. These are only surface incidentals to the evils which launched the battle of August 3rd, when two of Durst's hirelings and two workers were killed and scores wounded. What really caused the struggle was typhus raging in the camp, deaths daily and starvation among these thousands who were delayed in their entry to the fields by the owners.

I. W. W. Protest

These workers, protesting against overwhelming misery, cried aloud to the I. W. W. Ralph Durst came to the discontented and suggested some form of organization. They picked Dick Ford, a former member of the I. W. W., as their spokesman.

This is what Ralph Durst told Dick Ford at their first interview:

"You will never succeed. I have seen these strikes before. You are beaten by the many lan-

guages. Money alone talks around here so as to be understood." He then struck Ford in the face and ordered him off the ranch.

Next day, Sunday morning, this crowd of twenty-seven nationalities, marching four abreast, orderly took the way from their festering quarters to Durst's office. There was a great hop wagon in the office yard. Upon this mounted a company of quiet men. They ranged themselves right and left of Dick Ford. In front of each man on that wagon was a solid block of people and each block spoke the language of the man they fronted. There were Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, Turks, Armenians, Syrians, Arabs from Asia Minor, Georgian Cosacks, Kurds from the Caucasus and Transcaspia;

the neighborhood. He also appealed to the county sheriff, saying he was being expelled from his own land.

After the refusal, the strikers conferred and, at their request, Herman D. Suhr of Stockton, the only I. W. W. member known officially to be present, sent out an appeal by telegraph to the I. W. W. unions for organizers and for money to feed these starving workers. When the telegram was sent, the committee returned to report. At this meeting someone shouted, "Let us slash down the hop vines!" Dick Ford stooped and raised before the crowd a little baby with its face marked by the hop poison. Holding this infant forward, he made this historic appeal:



all Europe lent groups. Porto Rico sent a man who now sleeps calmly in his bloody grave. Two of his oppressors preceded him to death.

This meeting also was invited by Ralph Durst. It assembled peacefully. When its orderly organization was completed, Dick Ford went to Durst and was again taunted about the 'unruly mob.' He presented the demands: More toilets; drinking water in the fields; high-pole men to bring down the higher vines; the right to deal with town merchants for food (Durst had a company store); one dollar per hundred pounds and no bonus.

Sneeringly Durst refused. Ford returned to the meeting, told Durst's reply and asked the will of the meeting. As Ford talked, twenty-six others translated, each to his group. Then the question was put: "Shall we continue this strike?"

"Yes!" unanimously roared the crowd.

Durst was astounded and asked for time. It was granted. Durst then left the meeting and the workers filed back to their quarters. Then Durst, by telephone and messenger, sent for every gun in

Don't slash down the hop vines. They will sprout again next year. Let us organize so that never again shall men and women suffer as we do. Let us organize so that no more babies will look like this."

His audience responded with order and good cheer. They were filthy personally, weak individually, but in organization formidable and hopeful with faith in the industrial gospel of the I. W. W.

The Slaughter

While Ford was counseling peace and order, Durst was mustering guns, and thugs to use these guns. He gathered every weapon in Wheatland. On the outskirts of the meeting he disposed his butchers—as the consequences will testify to. He had also demanded the sheriff's posse. Then—

As day died in gorgeous twilight, and these three thousand workers were listening to the peace advices, there came a fleet of automobiles surging through the lane! Guns stuck over the sides of machines. These cars charged upon the meeting, crashed to a stop, the ferocious posse advanced. The meeting opened its ranks quietly. "There was no resistance," testified the sheriff.

As this armed posse advanced, a Durst thug, Harry Dakin, now boasts that he fired two shots on the crowd. Lee Anderson, near the front of the posse, also fired a pistol. Now in this meeting were scores—maybe hundreds—of children. Their mothers flew to the rescue. In their rush the burly deputies were powerless as straws in a whirlpool. In thirty seconds, so terrible were these mothers in their agony, that no deputy stood erect. Dead, dying and wounded were strewn about the ground. Harry Dakin testified: "I got home, went inside. I heard the lock click. I covered up in bed."...

Nobly calm was this meeting, but terrible were the mothers who sought to save their children from these murderous deputies.

And this, in part, was Wheatland, the Bunker Hill of organization by the California ranch workers.

Then began the usual White Terror. Raids, third degrees and free prison beds were the order of the day. False witnesses, press hysteria and class lying were the preamble to the joke repeatedly foisted on the working class in this country. The "fair and impartial trial" ended with the conviction of Ford and Suhr. So terrific were the exposures of life in labor camps that the Commission on Immigration and Housing got busy and compelled some sort of decency in the camps of 1914 and 1915. In 1916 the conditions began to lapse. It was said that the camps were never as bad then as of old. Ford and Suhr from Folsom prison gaze upon a better world. There has never been the utter degradation they fought.

Battle Still Goes on

Since Ford and Suhr there have been other battles in California by the workers. They have passed their Brandywine and Monmouth. They now may be described as in their Valley Forge. Organized ownership has passed its criminal syndicalism statute. Anita Whitney, a philanthropist whose connections are high in station, has been sentenced to fourteen years in prison because she actively protested against such wrongs.

This woman whose only children are the poor and outcast has been convicted of criminal syndicalism and of conspiring to overthrow such benign rule by force and violence. They have convicted J. P. Malley, James McHugo, R. C. Lewis, C. F. Bentley, and are trying others; but just as surely as the horrors of Valley Forge led to the triumph of Yorktown, so will the workers move on to the freedom of Ford and Suhr, Mooney and Billings, and all the individuals whom Californian associated greed holds as hostages.

"We are coming home, John Farmer,
We are coming to stay!"

Industrial Organization and Action

That necessary lesson of organization is sinking into the consciousness of California ranch hands. Workers with red cards in their hearts will organize the workers with red blood in their veins.

There are more discontented workers in California than there is room for them in the penitentiaries. Those owners who have won their ease in the beautiful gardens of California are still so foolish as to deny living wages to non-unionized labor. General Organizer Greed is abroad. Hunger A. Plenty is his assistant. Criminal-Syndicalize that hunger pain, John Rancher!

The lesson which you have demonstrated in your own organization is creeping into the consciousness of the patient masses. Long has labor come onto jobs "loaded like a long-eared Jack." Labor knows how "forty year's gatherings" sits on its shoulders. Jack Stiff has learned he can "sleep anywhere on your acres so long as he don't disturb the hogs." Labor has seen you Little Landers establish a social control in California. Don't fool yourself, John Rancher, with Criminal Syndicalism. Labor will organize and own the earth.

You may dam up the River of Progress—at your peril and cost. Food cultivation in California is now industrialized. Ford and Suhr are still on the job to unionize it. Their prison is the light-house. Terror either in 1913 or 1921 avail employers naught. Labor has seen beyond the veil. It signals for organization.



The Spirit of Centralia Victims

MODERN labor history has produced little that has created so profound an impression as did the events of armistice day in Centralia on Nov. 11, 1919.

Attacked in their own hall, members of the Industrial Workers of the World defended their lives and the property of the organization in regular battle with a mob composed largely of members of the American Legion. Three Legionaries were killed in the attack and one ex-soldier, a member of the I. W. W., was murdered by a mob after his capture.

Reflecting the fact of the class struggle in the lumber industry in the state of Washington, the prosecution was directed not against the instigators of the mob who made the attack, but against the members of the I. W. W., who were on the defensive. The lumber trust largely financed the prosecution and were loyally supported by every branch of organized business in the state and country.

Ten men were placed in the dock for their lives. After a sensational trial lasting several weeks a verdict was brought in on March 13th, 1920. Seven men were declared to be guilty of second degree murder by the jury. Two were found not guilty and one judged insane. On the same day the labor jury that had been sent down from representative labor bodies, in no way connected with the I. W. W., returned a verdict of not guilty.

Sentence was later passed by Judge Wilson on the seven convicted men. They were given from twenty-five to forty years in Walla Walla penitentiary.

Their case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Washington and in a decision handed down on April 14, 1921 the appeal was denied and the verdict and sentence upheld. On June 22, 1921 the seven victims of the Lumber Trust were spirited away to Walla Walla to begin serving their long weary years of confinement.

These are the few outstanding facts of the case that acquaint the reader with the actual events. Yet somehow they convey no idea of the tremendous significance and the personal development of individuals concerned with this defeat.

The Industrial Workers of the World as a whole and largely as individual members have come to see that battle with capitalism means a series of defeats so far as the ultimate goal is concerned, until the final fight when victory will mean the taking over of industrial and social power by the working class. Nothing short of such a victory can be construed as anything but defeat by the revolutionary workers.

As the organization and its members have gone from one partial victory or outright defeat to another they know and feel that it is the series of

battles that are fought and the constant effort to achieve that will mean success.

It is in this light that the Centralia case must be viewed. The fact that seven convicted men by their brave spoken and written words and the every day acts of their narrow and restricted lives adopt and express this attitude intensifies the knowledge that defeat is no disaster. It is part of the proletarian battle and the great fight must be carried on.

Never perhaps in any similar case involving as large a number of men has the courage and valor and unflinching attitude of the victims been so unanimous. The seven imprisoned workers have by their every act and deed practised and expressed their solidarity with those who were on the outside, or in other prisons.

It is not so hard perhaps for persons spurred on by great emotions and stimulated by being the center of great attention, to put forth a brave face in the moment of trial. From November 11, 1919 to June 22, 1921 the Centralia boys have lain in confinement. They have passed through terrible nerve racking situations. They have existed in that close promiscuity that wears on friendship and solidarity more harshly than any possible situation that could be imagined.

Yet their time has been spent in creative personal and organization work. Never from the first to the last of this trying period has any evidence of the great strain put upon them made itself manifest in their attitude. Quarrels, bickerings, petty misunderstandings, unavoidable it would seem under the circumstances have failed to materialize.

Education as a class and as individuals has been always a star in the I. W. W. firmament. Self-education has been the main activity of its jailed members. In the case of the Centralia boys the advance that they have made in self-education can be judged by an examination of the literary work that they have turned out for the I. W. W. press. Cartoons and pictures, of vision and of artistic value, have from time to time been produced by these prisoners and have been reproduced in the press. In their letters wide spread in point of time and written under all sorts of circumstances in regard to personal health and feeling a great contribution to the fighting spirit of the I. W. W. has been made.

Brave, earnest, yet with that touch of human understanding and humorous point of view that sifts out the dogmatist from the person of true breath of mind, the heroes of the Centralia battle have endeared themselves in the hearts of their fellow workers as much by their calm self-control as by their active bravery.

It is these seven men who have been taken to

Walla Walla to face the spirit crushing machine of penitentiary discipline. That they will come out unbroken and unafraid is the firm conviction of every one who has followed their case from beginning to end.

That labor will release them from their servitude is the purpose that is deep in the I. W. W. Earnest is the determination that the battle for our class supremacy will be carried on in the lumber industry and in Centralia.

The organization of the territory around Centralia is now going on full blast. The I. W. W. is well represented on the social map of this once terrorized community.

In the January 1921 active organization work was resumed in Centralia at the request of members of the organization in that place. The statement was made that should the White Terror in all the rest of the country burn and destroy the halls and scatter the members of the I. W. W., yet Centralia would maintain an organization and keep alight the spirit of revolt.

Since January a regular organization campaign has been carried on. The police officials on the instructions of the lumber interests started at once to apply pressure to stop the movement. Newsboys, branch secretaries, organizers and members were arrested. Some were released and others held on charges of criminal syndicalism.

In answer to this move the organization laid out a concerted plan of action. All the spare forces in the district were centered on Centralia. Instead of running for cover in fear of the iniquitous syndicalism law the membership rallied to the fight and dozens of men were soon in town selling literature, making house to house canvases, carrying on an educational campaign that will make forever impossible the recurrence of the armistice day tragedy of 1919.

Halls have been rented and openly advertised speakers have spoken on behalf of the I. W. W. program. Consistent press matter has been gotten out so that the whole district is behind the action of the vanguard on the job.

In organizing this educational campaign it was necessary to look out for the welfare of the educators. Housing accommodations were secured. Committees for looking after the house work, the food and the clothing were appointed and fill their duties thus securing the necessities of life for those engaged in propaganda work. Farmers are co-operating in the activities. Autos collect foodstuffs and the workers engaged in this fight are well supplied.

Four of the first members arrested in this drive were tried in Chehalis, the county seat located a few miles from Centralia. Two were declared guilty of criminal syndicalism and two were turned loose, on June 17th, 1921. Eighteen men have been in jail at one time. On June 25, 1921 nine men were unconditionally released.

They headed a parade up the streets to the place used as headquarters by the self-appointed educators. More workers are coming to town. The campaign is gaining attention, and a hearing from the formerly disinterested residents. Centralia will yet be known for acts of civic intelligence. Some day the picture of a noose bound form mangled and bleeding will not be symbolic of the reception given members of the I. W. W. by Centralia's residents.

The spirit of unselfishness and the habits of patient constructive workmanship have been held up to us by the victims of armistice day in Centralia. This spirit and these habits are bedded deep in the make up of the working class. Trough their militant expression the jail doors will yet swing open on Centralia's victims and the working class will always claim them as its own.

Facts are Universal

No words have created such mischief in the world of today as these four—East and West, Europe and Asia. Division of mankind in such sharp categories in a terrible thing. The reason is that both sides of the division are masses of old habits, and these old habits are mostly a bundle of ignorance, and superstitions. The West has its accumulated ignorance. The East has its inherited and clustered and garnered rubbish heaps. Ignorance cannot tolerate ignorance of a different sort.

But truth is the same everywhere, and for every one. The truth of science is universal. Fire burns in Tokio, in Calcutta and in London, according to the same laws. What is correct of the truths of physical science is also correct of the truths of human science.

On the basis of a scientific law, all mankind can

meet. The division between East and West is a legacy of the past. The sooner we forget it the better.

In the case of India, however, this division has proved an utmost lie.

For to call India Asiatic, in the sense of China or Japan being Asiatic, is the biggest bunk possible.

The plain fact is that India is at bottom, and at top, a land of the same sort of people as inhabit the Eastern and Southern regions of Europe. India is a land of European national inclinations. She differs from Western Europe, merely in being in a state of arrested development.

Modern India was born and has been since brought up in a prison where darkness prevails. That is an English prison. For India to think of herself, to talk of herself, to aspire even for her liberty—is sedition.

Industrial Unionism and the Strike in Steel

By Robert Grayson

THE book written on the 1919 steel strike by William Z. Foster has contributed a great deal of light where darkness previously prevailed concerning the general walk-out of over 300,000 workers of the great steel industry. It is not this illumination that the writer wishes to discuss, but rather the twisting of fact that is to be found in his concluding chapter.

After pointing out the strike's hopeful aspects in clear-cut words, Foster becomes confused, apparently by trying the impossible role of serving two masters. He is very clear as follows:

"... When one considers that they (the organizers) substituted a group of twenty-four unions for individual action in other campaigns; established a standard initiation fee instead of the multitude that existed before; adopted modern methods of organizing in place of the antiquated system previously prevailing; organized a joint commissariat, carried on a successful organizing campaign and waged a great strike together, one must admit that a tremendous stride forward has been made."

Commenting on this it is interesting to notice that every improvement over old methods are such changes as have been advocated and practiced by the I. W. W., in direct opposition to the general policy of the A. F. of L. Thus Mr. Foster admits that the strike tactics of the Industrial Workers of the World were so good as to be adopted as the means best fitted to wage the largest strike in American history.

Foster informs us that we have been telling the world that the A. F. of L. is not revolutionary; and that it has neither the intelligence nor courage to fight toward industrial freedom. He also says that we have given but slight investigation to test the soundness of these charges.

Now, who is responsible for radicals regarding the trade union movement of this country as reactionary? Is it not the trade union movement itself by its practices since it first came into prominence here? Despite what Foster declares, trade unionists do take very seriously the motto that is a disgrace to any worker believing it: "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

I was a trade unionist for eleven years. I, for one, do know that the trade unionists not only own that motto with the greatest respect, but it is the pinnacle of their circumscribed industrial vision. That no one can decide or even approximate just what is a fair day's work or a fair day's pay makes no difference, for the mob is always moved by phrases, catchwords and slogans; the mass never reasons.

The trade unionists do believe as a body that their interests are the same as those of their

masters, after this fashion: That when the boss has orders he gives them work and when he has no orders they are left in idleness. Hence they believe that they have the same interests—orders. As a body they have not realized that there is a class struggle, that it is existing because what is good for the slave is bad for the master and vice versa.

Foster assures us that these slogans are for the consumption of the bosses; that even if the workers uttering them do believe what they are saying it matters not a bit, for, "Most movements are blind to their own goals anyway." Rather bad juggling, Mr. Foster, most movements may be blind to their future, as you say, but we are in a movement that is builded not on blindness. Ours is a movement that is not hap-hazard. We are in a class conscious movement! Conscious, get that, not blind.

As an ex-member of the A. F. of L. I may speak with some freedom as well as certitude about the vision of that organization. The A. F. of L. is blind to its future, as well as to most else that requires social vision. Its membership on the whole believe its slogans. And because they were strikers for more pay, etc., how can Mr. Foster say the Federation is revolutionary since such tactics are not revolutionary in themselves, and the order has forever been opposed to the downfall of the capitalist scheme?

A union that concerns itself entirely with the question of wages, hours and conditions is, at best, a reform outfit, and that in name chiefly, for as wages increase so do the prices of life's necessities. That this immediate effort is absolutely necessary against unbearable encroachments is not denied, but more than immediate militancy must be evidenced to stamp an organized body of workers as revolutionary.

That the trade unions are extremely conservative in spite of Foster's rather amusing revolutionary characterization of them is seen even in the handling of what they deal mostly in—funds. Twenty-four of these unions assessed themselves one hundred dollars each to fight United States Steel! These unions have millions in their treasuries.

These unions, or some of the more important ones, ordered their members back to work to scab on the other strikers. This attitude, though treacherous, was true to the inmost tenets of the Federation formed on craft autonomy, sectional interests.

Mr. Foster invites us to come into the fold of the white sheep and try to shape the destiny of American labor by infusing our revolutionary unionism within the A. F. of L.

Foster knows as well as I that the officialdom of the Federation itself and of the various trade

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

unions affiliated with it compose an impregnable obstacle to such kind of agitation on any justifiable scale; he knows that most of the trade unionists are by very nature of their craft skill conservative, opposed to any program that embraces the happiness of all the working class. More than any agitators modern machinery displacing mechanics from the safety of their skilled bulwarks is working to leaven the ranks of the trade unions with industrial union ideas.

Mr. Foster attempts to draw a comparison between the tactics operating in Great Britain and this country in the labor movements. He points out that over there the radicals work within trade unions, do not set up new organizations distinct from the craft ones previously in existence. This attempt to compare us with Britain fails for the simple reason that the conditions are very dissimilar in these two countries.

We know that working class organization over there has been a fact for about a hundred years. We know that it is the rule in England to belong to a union. In America it is the exception. There are over 75% of the workers of this country without labor organization of any kind. They are chiefly unskilled workers, not sought after by the American Federation of Labor.

It may best be said that revolutionary labor in America decided once and for all time in 1905 that the A. F. of L. scheme, which should be called not a movement but a stagnation, was definitely opposed to the performance of labor's historic mission. The I. W. W. came into being. The A. F. of L. is a dam, flung by crafty craftsmen and official parasites before the onrushing river of progress. The Industrial Workers of the World may not be that entire stream, but surely in American labor it is the most direct current, and the clearest of the waters of this river of progress.

The I. W. W. has a vision and a plan. The vision is happy humanity, humankind toiling together and sharing together, and playing together, no masters and no slaves. The plan is the organization of the workers into strong industrial unions for the purpose of fighting the battle against master class encroachment day after day until the organization is powerful enough to decree that the master class as such is a thing of the dark ages of the past.

Mr. Foster tells us we are idealistic. Well, after being caricatured for so long as bomb-throwers that is very nice of him, but it states only a half-truth. Our social goal visioned for human happiness is idealistic. Our plan of organization is quite realistic and practical. Its practicability is vouched for by all the might and terror of the rulers of this land, by the courts that have damned and jailed our members; by the firing squad that blew out

the magic flame of Joe Hill's singing heart; by the finks and thugs that gave us a red memory of Everett; by the cowards that hanged Frank Little to a trestle, and by the conspirators of Centralia.

Mr. Foster complained that the steel strikers could not exercise free speech. He seems to have forgotten that I. W. W. organizers and speakers and common working-stiff rebels fought free speech fights from one end of America to the other.

Mr. Foster criticizes our idealization of the Preamble. The clear-cut utterances of the I. W. W. Preamble have given us clear concepts, have stated briefly but fully just what we are in business for. Acting on the principles of the Preamble the I. W. W. has inspired the syndicalists of all the world, and the I. W. W. has come to be regarded by the revolutionary unionists of the world as the hope of the American proletariat.

No, Mr. Foster, we will not betray our trust to ourselves and to our fellow workers. We will go on and on, no matter what the cost to ourselves or to the aspirations of those who live by preying on the workers either as employers of labor or as officials of yellow trade unions. We have these considerations for us: That the introduction of modern machinery ever acts to displace skill in production, thus forever militating against labor orders that unite only workers who are skilled; and, again, that, in America, there are around 75% simon-pure scissorbills who need organization.

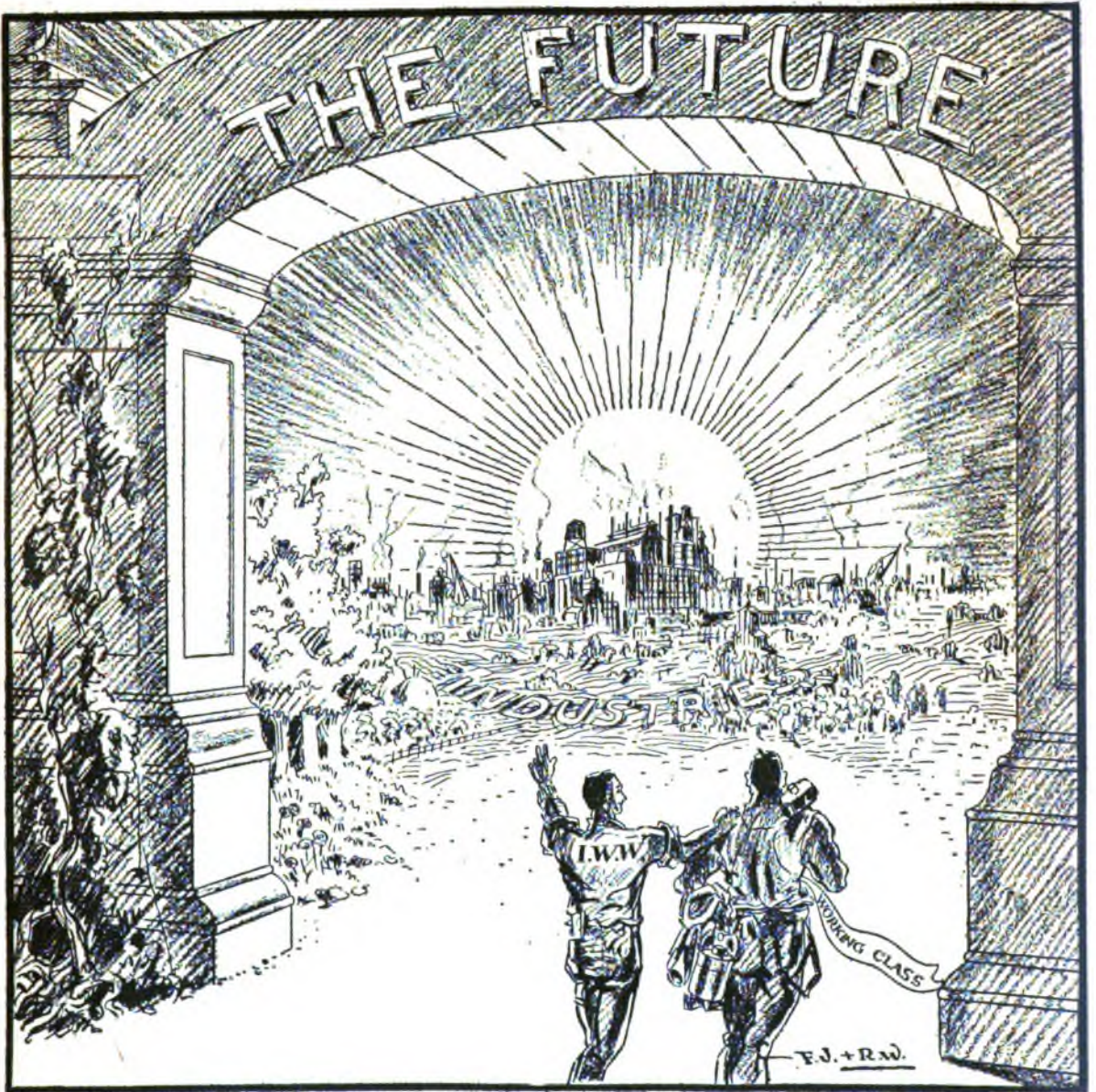
The I. W. W. will strive without halt to organize these workers and all workers possible to reach. No one can say just how many will be within the red ranks when the final contest between the two opposing classes is fought here.

Suffice to say that in every revolution of the world the great mass of people have aligned themselves with the side best equipped to win. Dynamic minorities have moved the world from savagery to the thing men now call civilization. Again in the future, near or distant, the dynamic minority of class conscious workers will remove the thing men call civilization, and put in its place what we have come to term the Industrial Communism.

* * *

It is generally conceded by members of the Industrial Workers of the World that boring within tactics are a waste of time in either the strong purely craft unions of the A. F. of L. or in the weakling so-called industrial unions which are in existence. However, there is at least one organization that does not come under either of these heads and is yet an integral part of the A. F. of L.

That organization is the United Mine Workers of America. As it is not a craft union it does not come under the critical analyses of tactics given above.—(Editor).



FELLOW WORKER! THEY BELONG TO US!

The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

CHAPTER X.

Some Things That a World Organization Could Do

SINCE the war has ended there has been constant changes in the value of currency in the various countries. The central powers have felt these variations most keenly, while some of the allies have also suffered considerably. The currency of the United States has maintained the strongest position, while the neutral countries like Holland, Sweden and Argentina have been affected in a minor degree.

These alterations in the currency value in the different countries are due to several causes, including the borrowing of money on a large scale and the swamping of markets and bourses with large amounts of paper money which have an insufficient gold backing.

This is observed if you go to change gold and paper notes in overseas ports. On the thirteenth of November 1920, an English sovereign would purchase American money to the value of \$4.87 while a one pound treasury note is only worth the sum of \$3.37. It is much the same in other ports outside of the British Empire.

An International Wage Scale

When a seaman signs on in a British ship he signs for so many pounds "sterling." People are under the impression that the word sterling means gold. It is not correct, for when the man pays off in a foreign port he will be paid at the paper rate.

This matter has not interested the national unions, in fact it is doubtful whether they even know that it is going on. The least that they can do is to insist that their men should be signed on in "gold" currency. At present by the slick juggling of the exchange, the shipping companies rob the marine workers of hundreds of thousands of pounds each year.

The highest wages in the marine world are paid out of the ports of North and South America. American officers get forty per cent more wages than those sailing out of European ports. The wages for seamen out of American ports are \$85.00 per month which is equivalent to about twenty-five pounds English. The British seamen work twelve hours a day and the Americans work eight. The following table shows the wages out of various countries and the amount that should be paid if the men received an international wage upon the same basis as is paid out of the United States—\$85.00 a month.

| Port | Wages today | Internat. scale |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| London | 5.00 pounds | 25.00 pounds |
| Rotterdam | 140.00 gulden | 283.00 gulden |
| Athens | 560.00 drachma | 937.50 drachma |
| Hamburg | 720.00 marks | 7300.00 marks |
| Antwerp | 15. pounds | 25.00 pounds |
| Copenhagen | | |
| Kristiania | 316.00 kronen | 643.75 kronen |
| Stockholm | 320.00 kronen | 450.00 kronen |
| Helsingfors | 450.00 finmarks | 3800.00 finmarks |
| Barcelona | 240.00 pesetas | 709.00 pesetas |
| Genoa | 800.00 lire | 2425.00 lire |
| Montreal | 85.00 dollars | 95.00 dollars |
| Monte Video | 81.50 pesos | 81.50 pesos |
| Buenos Aaires | | |
| (overseas) | 202.00 pesos | 202.00 pesos |
| (local) | 90.00 pesos | 90 pesos |
| Valparaiso | 160.00 pesos | 525.00 pesos |
| Melbourne | 14.00 pounds | 25.00 pounds |

This table speaks for itself.

Counteracting the Effect of Cheap Asiatic Labor

The creation of an International Wages Scale would compel the ship-owners to pay full wages to Chinese, Lascars and other Asiatics who work under rates. We cannot ignore these men. They have to be unionized. Wailing against their presence on ships has never done anything and never can. We can settle that vexing question by organizing them and getting them to fight for the same wages and conditions.

It will be interesting to see whether the Inchcapes and the Pirries employed these men because they love them or because they work cheaper than the whites. By forcing the power of the Marine International we are on our way to settling for all time the matter of colored labor on ships.

Hence you will see, fellow workers, the necessity for an international wage scale based on the highest wages paid out of any port. There is no reason why seamen and allied workers should be penalized on account of the changes in the currency. Any national "funeral" society that does not stand for this is better swamped. If the forthcoming conference at Brussels does not take this up then it will be their funeral. This question is merely a reform but it is a thing that will be welcomed, and it will go far towards proving to men the utility of an international.

Reduce and Standardise Hours of Labor

Some time ago the League of Nations convened a meeting of ship owners and union officials in Genoa. They were supposed to be very much con-

cerned about the marine workers but when the question of hours came up for the seamen it was contrived that the proposal for the forty-eight hour week be defeated by one eighth of a vote. The British ship-owners wailed that it would mean bankruptcy for them and a compromise was fixed at sixty-six hours a week,—which is more real work than most of these delegates have performed in a life time.

In Australian and American ships the eight hour day has already been established and for a time likewise in Denmark and Sweden but Denmark lost out after the March, 1920, strike. The League of Nations Labor Office is merely a capitalistic tool to sidetrack the workers into hoping for something. The workers of the sea are to them what the frog is to the snake. Beware of Monsieur Albert Thomas with his nice black whiskers, fellow workers.

An International Marine Organization could enforce the 44-hour week in port, and the 36-hour week in port in tropical countries, and a 48-hour week at sea, with no overtime except under extraordinary circumstances. As I have pointed out, we are not doing our duty to our fellows as long as we are working 12 hours a day while they are starving on the docks. We have to be responsible for our own unemployed. A strong organization would reduce the hours in the stoke-hole from 8 to 6, with four watches for firemen. If there are not enough firemen to work the extra shift then let the ship-owners work the additional watch.

Instead of waiting for the bell-wethers to do things for us, we have to do things for ourselves. We have to counteract the new laborsaving processes, the new rates, by strong and determined world unionism. We have to wage ruthless war against the decadent and vicious class who have coined enormous fortunes out of our overwork, our hunger and our misery. We have to develop the feeling that we are out to win and that the forces of hell cannot prevail against us.

Again we have to force the right for our members to pay off in any port and to get their wages in full, that the system of logging be abolished, and that the business of signing period articles shall be abolished. All men shall be engaged solely through the union office and by rotation. Any delegate grafting or selling jobs should be expelled from the organization and blacklisted. No union dues shall be collected under the nose of the shipping agents as is the case in many countries today.

In Regard to Accommodations

Ships that are minus decent living accommodations could be held up until they are refitted. The Marine International should approach all the workers engaged in the ship-building industry and ask them to refuse to build ships unless there are separate cabins for the men as well as properly fitted mess-rooms and hot and cold water baths. Deck-houses should be built for the steersman, so that

he is protected from the weather during his watch. Lifeboats should be in excellent condition, and electrically launched. Ship's Committees to insist that only third class passengers clear a ship before the crew when she is in a dangerous position. Let the parasites save their own hides. The Committees to have the power to stop the officers from racing in foggy or iceberg frequented seas, and to reduce the speed to one that is considered safe. Put an end to enormities such as the "Titanic" disaster, where the parasitical herds are saved and the firemen and seamen go down to their last grave leaving their desolate wives and hungry children to mourn the loss of their breadwinners. Our class, first, last and always.

A Marine International will give us a true appreciation of ourselves and a contempt for the idlers with their white hands and the best saloons and the best good food. We do not want seamen's missions, nor pipes at Christmas, nor tracts at Easter. We want power, for that is the basis of everything in the future.

As to Food

The food schedules have to be drawn up again. Food must be inspected before the ship sails, and must be of the best. No margarine should be carried. There should be a refrigerator aboard every foreign-going ship. Ice or oatmeal water must always be available for the firemen. Ample fresh fruit and vegetables shall be procured at each port, and the ship should not be moyed until those conditions have been carried out. As for the minimum food scale provided by politicians, we will fit a few ships especially for those type of people and send them to sea on their own schedule in order to educate them.

As to the Future

When you read this, fellow worker, don't gasp, but get into the fight to bring it about. The things that I have mentioned, after all, are merely minor reforms, and will not make any serious hole into the banking accounts of our masters. But they are a basis of common agreement, things that we all desire, and things that we can bind the workers of the sea together on. They will help us understand each other and encourage us towards the glorious day, when the workers of the sea will be the dominant force on the ocean routes. In a few months you will see the ships of the Russian Workers' Republics on the sea. They will be built for men to live in, not for wild animals, who are housed like dogs and worked like bullocks, such as we are today. All things are possible with an intelligent organized working class.

Let us be in such a position that we will be able to go into any port in the world carrying the same card as the docker. Let us stick together in fine or dirty weather, for a fight is the fight of everyone of us, whatever our flag, our ship, or our job.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

CHAPTER XI.

A Few Words on Fighting.

It must be plain as daylight to intelligent marine workers that the Shipping Octopus cannot be defeated by organizations as they exist today. The legislative acts of a country have no operation outside of its own boundaries. The men on deep water ships only work a small portion of their time within their home ports. No political party can claim to protect the sea workers outside their own radius of action. In addition to this, not one in five sea workers possesses a vote. Under the control of capitalism, the relative and actual position of the working class becomes steadily worse from year to year. The other class becomes richer and more powerful. These tendencies continue under Labor Governments (as in Australia) just the same as under the bourgeois political parties.

Under these conditions the marine workers have to find other means of expression than merely voting for politicians, or relying upon the limited power of their local organizations. Political power does not come from nose-counting; it comes from industry. A slave class industrially is a slave class politically. Men who cannot conquer freedom where they work can never conquer any other kind of freedom. That has been demonstrated in nearly every country, since the termination of the war.

The scientific fighting organization upon which the future depends has to rise from the workers, and not to fall from the professional secretaries and officials. The idea of CLASS has to subordinate all other things to its own predominance. To that end, we have to regard all capitalists, reactionary college professors, politicians and other undesirables as enemies and foreigners, and all workers as our class brothers. That is to say, the Liverpool dockers and the Antwerp crane-drivers have more in common with the Chinese firemen and the Lascar seamen than they have with the Liverpool shipowners or the Belgian importers.

Capitalism is tottering. Hoary with a million crimes it staggers towards its death. Social systems like human beings have their birth, adolescence, zenith, decay and death. From the womb of the old system, comes the new. Chattel slavery grew out of tribal communism, feudalism out of chattel slavery, and capitalism out of feudalism. One class after another has climbed to the possession and control of the earth, to be overthrown in its turn by another better fitted to manage, direct and possess. The last of the classes, and the most numerous, is now preparing itself to overthrow capitalism. "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." On the side of the working class are all the vital social forces. Treachery, faulty organization, political opportunism, and side issues may delay the

coming of the triumph of the workers, but cannot prevent it.

The working class is destined to master the world. It is the destiny that can only come from clear and decisive knowledge. It must find its origin in the growth of the ideas of control and possession of the ships and wharves on which men work. The disintegrating forces of capitalism must give way to the aggressive, masterful masses of the workers.

As to Classes.

On certain days at Buckingham Palace or the White House you will see the representatives of the ruling classes of the different countries meet despite their varying religions, colors and languages, on terms of equality and comradeship. They do not war, nor wrangle, nor squabble about their respective differences. They leave that to the working class; furthermore, they foster it as much as possible, for in sectionalism and nationalism lies their own safety.

And yet, in February, 1921, I sailed out of the port of Buenos Aires on the Norwegian steamer "Vela," which had eleven nationalities aboard. All the crew, with the exception of the officers and engineers, were members of the M. T. W. in Buenos Aires. We stuck together and agreed among ourselves. Our united efforts gave us strength, for we were as unbreakable in our solidarity as our class enemies who meet in courts and castles. The Chinese in the galley, the Chilians, Spaniards, Italians, Swedes and Finns in the stokehole and the Norwegians, English, Germans, Esthonians and Russians on deck, agreed like brothers. When we had a strike in Buenos Aires—against the captain for attempting to take a crew from a notorious shanghaier—it was the Argentine dockers and carters who aided us, and together we compelled the captain to submit to the law of the organized workers enacted in the Union Hall.

Such is the method upon which the units of the Marine International must depend for their triumph. It will establish a fraternity and a brotherhood in every ship and every port, and create an impregnable buttress against exploitation. In its extension and practice it will give the marine workers the power to determine their own lives, the course of the ships on which they sail and the cargo that they shall carry.

This will leave the hell-found instruments of war rust in the railway sidings, or to be forged into implements of peace; the grey monsters that blight the bosom of the ocean will cease their vile work, and the Workers of the World, united through the far-reaching arms of the Marine Workers International, shall extend the rule of the proletariat to the uttermost places in the world.

The Barbed Wire in the Path.

It is a lamentable fact that the people who know least about the requirements of the workers are the officials of their organizations. We hear the Yellow

Amsterdam International, composed of the bellwether leaders of pre-war days, talking the same old platitudes, since they are now even more than ever embedded in their nationalism. The world has gone past them, but they persist in believing that the world of labor is following them. The world of labor is not only sick of their incapacity, but of the machine that sends them, year after year, and generation after generation, to talk the same generalities in so-called International Congresses.

And yet the men in the different industries are more than ready for something better. There are no men more capable of responding to the call for a fighting International than the men who risk their lives in every latitude. It is in their bones, it is the unspoken thought in their minds, that merely needs expressing for them to realize its vast importance.

In the past these men have sailed the seas. The National Unions have collected their initiation fees and dues and given little in return. I have seen men with five or six union cards in their possession. Ignorance and incapacity of the officials has withheld any systematic co-operation between the different unions. No effort has ever been made to educate the workers, and with the single

exception of the "Australian Seamen's Journal", the maritime union papers are the most woeful productions that were ever consigned to a butcher's shop for wrapping up meat.

In the former chapter I mentioned the dinner given to the ship-owners by the British Union. Compare this with the following advertisement which appeared in the columns of the London "Observer" on the 28th day of October, 1920:

They Look for You For Help.

The spectre of hunger, cold and misery is staring in the face of the widows and children of the British Merchant Seamen, there are 320 incapacitated merchant seamen, 887 widows, 1100 dependents and children on our books who lack the means of existence. Can you help them?

Please send a donation today to Thomas Scott, Secretary, British Merchant Seamen and their Dependents' Fund. Tower Building, Liverpool.

The advertisement is not only a condemnation of the swinish inhumanity and greediness of the ship-owners; it is as well a striking proof of the failure of the existing form of organization. If there are any eight course meals to come from



**WAIT! LET US HAVE AN ARBITRATION
CONFERENCE BEFORE WE PROCEED!**

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

union funds, it would surely be more just that some of the workers and their dependents above mentioned should have the honor and pleasure instead of the rich plutocrats of ocean transport. But, I forgot that it is the work of the union in question to bury its members when they are dead.

Forward! The Advance Guard!

Let us unite, fellow workers! Let us establish the New School of Unionism—Industrial Unionism, World Unionism. Let us remember that we have to rely upon ourselves, and to build for ourselves. We have not merely to conquer the ships in which we work but we have to run them as social floating machines engaged in supplying the economic wants of society.

Instead of waiting for *coup d'états*, or for the bottom to fall out of capitalism, it is our duty to work for the day, and to realize what the Red Navy at Kiel realized, that there can be no success, unless there is a powerful, well-equipped organization in the field of industry. We learn by experience, and there is no field so fruitful in results, so encouraging to the enthusiast as the creation of the foundations of an Industrial Commonwealth. Therefore it is our duty and our joy to encourage action, to dissipate ignorance, and by working within the field of our experience, and with the things and the men with whom we have contact, to make steady progress towards our objective. The compilation of knowledge dealing with our particular industry is imperative, for the time is coming when our future will depend upon what we know—upon the organization that we possess, its virility and its mobility.

On our side are vital social forces, and the advantage of numbers. We need but the Will to Power. The time is nearing when the merchant navies will pass into the control of the workers aboard them. A common flag will fly at the mast-head; it will be the insignia of the Universal and International Organization, on a red banner. For whatever may be the tint of our skins, in our veins surges the red blood of our class, and we do not envy the titled and blue-blooded plutocrats their special variety.

...Hail the sunrise of the Industrial Communards on the ocean routes, ye men of the sea! Hail the dawn of our class solidarity! It will strike the shackles from our limbs, and make us free as the laughing wind which whitens the wave-tips on the Pacific.

CHAPTER XII.

TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM.

Towards Industrial Communism.

Some time ago I was an interested spectator at a socialist conference in London. One of the speakers, in putting up the case in favor of participation in parliamentary action, suggested that when

the workingman came to understand the capitalist tiger, through his activity in parliament and on local councils, all he would have to do would be to push his hand down the tiger's throat, grab him by the tail, and then turn him inside out. Thus we would have socialism, which the speaker stated, was but an inversion of capitalism. It was so wonderfully simple that I wondered why it had not occurred to anyone before.

The labor movement, unfortunately, has got into the habit of taking its formulas from other parts of the world; for example, from Russia, where the workers have obtained power, and are maintaining it. No allowance is made for the different degrees of industrial development in countries like the Great Britain, Belgium or the United States. In a copy of the "One Big Union Monthly" I read an article by a very capable writer, who uses the nom de plume of "Industrial Engineer". Says he:

"The majority of the labor organizations are not capable of operating it as well as the capitalist, but that is not sufficient. There are none that can operate and co-ordinate the present producing mechanism with the needed accompaniment of a change of technique. A reply is often made to the statement of this condition, to wit, "The workers will acquire the knowledge and the organization after they come into power." In Russia, where 92 per cent of the population are peasants, and where there is only a young industrial development, a dislocation of industry, while serious in itself, does not bring starvation to any large percentage of people. In the United States to attempt to acquire an operating knowledge of an industry and an organization after the change would be preparing for birth while the autopsy was already being carried on. The interdependence of industry with industry is such that the absence of a producing organization capable of directing and operating industry would bring about nothing short of chaos and dissolution."

But even if in the United States there is enough food grown to meet the elementary needs of the people during a revolutionary crisis, in England, Belgium and France the results will be disastrous if matters are allowed to drift in the haphazard fashion of today. Most of the advanced members of Communist parties are more concerned with the spectacular outward forms of revolution than with the actual creation of a working class power having at its command the technical knowledge necessary for the requirements of the people, as well as the organization and industrial discipline that will make it possible to keep in working order the land and the over-seas transport systems. When we contemplate the fact that Great Britain can barely feed herself for three months, and that in a crisis very likely the shipping would be tied up or would lay idle through lack of initiative, we can form some idea of the hunger and starvation that would be

bound to ensue. Russia in its worst hours would be a paradise when compared with England under such conditions. The more pastoral a country, the less necessary for successful revolution is a technical industrial organization. In highly industrialized and specialized countries like the United States, Great Britain, Belgium, or France, the political organization is of very minor importance, indeed. And yet in spite of this, a lamentable confusion of thought prevails among the workers concerning this subject, when everything ought to be as clear as daylight.

With such an organization of marine workers as I have mentioned, we would be in position to do things. Our men know what has to be done. They know that foodstuffs are vitally necessary, and they know further, where to get them. They are in touch with the men who load goods in Buenos Aires, Melbourne, or Odessa, for the long chain of organization of the transport industry runs into every corner of the earth. The technical branch of the organization knows that coal is needed in Argentine, and iron rails in Chile. It knows the number of surplus bushels of wheat in Odessa, and how many yards of cotton are needed in Java. It knows how many ships there are, and where they are distributed and whither they are bound. In this it is the knowledge of facts that will count; upon that will depend the success of the working class, or a lapse into disorganized confusion. There is far more talent for running ships than there are ships. In fact, I know ten men who could, owing to their knowledge of ports and marine transport, assume control of the world's marine transport tomorrow; but to look at them one would not believe that they had ever worn anything else but a dungaree suit. The industry is overflowing with good men and true, and with a little initiative the whole industry could be altered as much as we altered the port of Buenos Aires in the month of May, 1919.

The philosophy of industrial unionism provides for the creation of real unions with far-flung connections. Industrial unionism takes the economics of Marx out of the class-room, popularizes them and applies the lessons learned to wages, shovels, food, clothing, horses, anvils, spanners, saws, hammers, hours of labor, machines, ships, cranes, winches and compasses. It uses the language and the "why and the wherefore" of the job; a twenty minute talk on the job in the vernacular is worth twenty meetings dealing with generalities.

The Ship Committee.

This is the unit of the organization. On large ships there will be delegates for each section of the men employed aboard. On small ships one delegate will be sufficient. At each port a report will be issued by the delegate to the shore office, giving names, grade and standing of the crew and name,

nature and condition of the ship. It will be every man's duty to fit himself to undertake the duties of a delegate, so that he may educate his fellows.

The Shore Council.

This shall consist of the delegates of ships temporarily in port. The shore delegates shall be members of this council also. They shall meet twice a week on certain nights, in order to deal with general matters affecting their ships.

Port District Council.

This shall consist of delegates from the dockers and the seamen. They shall engage themselves in the supervision of the port, in order to force speedy action. They should meet at least weekly, except on important business, when they should be called together at an hour's notice. Whenever possible the marine workers and the dockers will occupy the same building, and utilize the same hall for meetings.

Transport Workers District Council.

Shall consist of delegates elected from the dockers, marine workers, railwaymen, tramwaymen, and road transport men. This shall be the connecting link between the various organizations within the district port zone. The Council shall meet regularly, and shall have the business of solidifying the ranks within the industry, and be prepared to take action, in case of necessity.

Regional Council.

This shall be equivalent to the National Union of Marine Workers, but for the sake of economy and efficiency of organization its jurisdiction shall not be determined by national frontiers. It shall be, as far as possible, in the centre of an area, and shall conform more to language needs than national requirements. For instance, Copenhagen could be utilized as headquarters for the whole of Scandinavia and Finland; Liverpool for the United Kingdom; Buenos Aires for the River Plate; Genoa for the Levant; Melbourne for Australia, and so on.

It shall be the duty of the Regional Council to provide sound and educational literature to the marine workers within its jurisdiction. It will print the necessary dues-books made to a universal design, in the prevailing language of the district. It will, also, undertake the tabulating of the general information on shipping, cargoes, clearances, etc. One of its duties will be to have such information at its command as will enable it to take control of the shipping industry at any moment. It will keep a complete roll of membership, and shall render at stated intervals reports on finances and other information to the International Headquarters. In addition to being an Information Bureau, it will possess administrative powers to act in matters of controversy within its own jurisdiction, providing that the conflict is of a local nature. It will exercise a watchful eye over the whole scope of its responsibilities, and will use all its efforts to create and perpetuate solidarity in the industrial field. It shall

be maintained by a per capita tax from the membership, and shall act as the connecting link between its own region and the International Headquarters, and from thence to the regional organizations in other parts of the world.

The International Headquarters.

The International Headquarters should be established in some large cosmopolitan port, like Liverpool, New York, Rotterdam, or Antwerp. The International Council should consist of one delegate from each area, and should be permanently stationed and maintained at the Headquarters. The delegates should be selected for their militancy; if possible, they should be able to write and translate in several languages. The Headquarters, in addition to being the world administrative organization in the Marine Industry, shall have full instructions to act in international crises, and to call for general action. Standardized propaganda material shall be issued by the Headquarters for translation into different languages. Information shall be carefully tabulated and published for the benefit of the whole industry. Standardized conditions shall be insisted upon in all countries, and a general standard of remuneration enforced. Instead of being a mere cypher boasting of so many hundreds of thousands of affiliated members, it shall be a live, growing force, expressing the will and determination of the men of the ships and the docks. Where a region is backward it will be the duty of the Headquarters to realize that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link; therefore a sustained propaganda must be carried on to bring the backward or conservative area into line. The Headquarters should be maintained by a per capita tax, to be collected through the Regional Councils.

The Headquarters could also be used as a centre for distributing literature from one region to another. It should arrange means of communication through ships' delegates to the affiliated councils in different regions. It should mobilize all its forces against war, declare blockades of reactionary countries, and refuse to allow ships to be used for the carrying of weapons or munitions likely to be used against the workers of any country. It shall issue regular reports in different languages and shall deal with such questions as wrecks, new tonnage, withdrawn tonnage, general port statistics, clearances, and all things pertaining particularly to the marine workers, and generally to the working class. It shall be pledged to the World Revolution, and irrevocably opposed to the yellow International of Oudegeest, Jouhaux and Thorne.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

The last chapter of this small book will form a summary of suggestions for building a Marine International. Conditions vary in different countries, existing organizations are of different shades of mil-

itancy and reaction, but still the principles of capitalism are much the same, although more pronounced at one point than at another. I have suggested that we have to build something better than the employers have—something stronger, something more powerful. Capitalism is a standardizing force; hence our idea of standardizing conditions is only in accordance with the general tendencies. In company with many fellow workers of different nationalities, I have thrashed the matter out. We honestly believe that the thing can be done, and further we know that there are the men to do it.

The reactionaries may, of course, doubt it, but what has been said is true, nevertheless. Fine houses, good cigars, well-clothed friends may have convinced them that human stupidity is likely to last an eternity. When I state that the men of the sea are tired of things as they are, I state facts, for I have been in possibly the best position of any man to judge of the present-day direction of the men who go to sea. For twelve months I was secretary of the deep sea men's organization in Buenos Aires, the largest port south of the equator. Our membership was the most cosmopolitan in the world; members from every conceivable marine organization passed through our office. I am told that we have had the most intelligent and the best union meetings in that port, by men of great experience. A better body of men I have never met, but I do not believe that they would be exceptional under the correct form of organization. I believe that almost any other port could produce such intelligent and militant types, if the organization were based upon the principles of Industrial Unionism, and a correct attitude taken in regard to organizing the workers for fight, and not for the benefit of the ship-owners.

Many and many's the time a fellow would come in to join and would demand to know first, "Is this an International Union?" That's what the men want. A little initiative here and there, a little of the right kind of propaganda, and the results soon become visible. The results give you a determined and energetic membership—men whom you are proud to know, and men who are proud to be in the organization. Furthermore, the men get the idea of *possessing and controlling*, and when a man feels like that you have got him for all the time.

The Russian workers have overthrown their brutal oppressors and established a Workers' Republic. In a short time we will see the ships of the Soviets with the Red Flag at the mastheads. The battle is coming on the sea to determine whether the workers' or the capitalists' flag is to be supreme. Oil and water cannot mix; neither can the Octopus of Inchcape, Ellerman, Schwab and Spreckels agree with the growing giant of the Marine Transport Workers. Conflict is coming, and the race is to the strong. The Marine Transport Workers calls you to organize in the only effective manner, upon the basis of Class. It calls upon you to exercise your power, to guard it jealously and to increase it daily.

We can look forward to a time when workers' control of industry will make work a pleasure; when machines will perform the heavy laborious work, when the stokehole will give way to the tiny engine room with its super-Diesel engines; when in building ships the first consideration will be given to the housing and accommodation of the men who will have to man them; when seamen will be of more importance than cargo; when the men's wives will be able to go to sea with them—and the children, also; when the avaricious grip of the wealthy magnates will be forever broken.

We look forward to the time when the marine worker, upon reaching the age of fifty, or when broken by accident, will have his wants attended to; when he will not be obliged to beg from door to door or to sleep in the dismal wards of a parish workhouse.

....All the injuries inflicted upon our martyred comrades call us to go forward. All the hundreds

of thousands of dead who lie beneath the waves of the Seven Seas cry to us to end the vile rule of the money hogs, whose riches have been coined from dead and broken bodies. Let us not forget a single coffin-ship, or a night in the cells, or a half month's logging, or a sneer from a consul's clerk. Let us rouse ourselves for conflict, and, armed with the ONE BIG UNION of the Workers of the sea, meet the enemy in open combat.

The sea produces today as many real men as it ever did! Men of wide purpose and speedy action! Men who know their own power, and how to use it! Men who know what they want and how to get it!

Build, ye men o' the sea, build the ONE BIG UNION of your class in whatever port or ship you may be, for the dawn riseth across the waters! The darkest night is going, the capitalist era is ending, and the workers in their millions are marching to greet the sunrise of the New Day.

Build the One Big Union, Fellows of the Seas!

THE END.

Tactics

Did you ever
Go on a job
Thinking you would
Last one day?
Made your mind up
That no matter
What was to happen
You were going
To propagandise?
Then when you
Get on the job
The bunch don't
Appeal to you at all
Because they tell these
Dirty stories
And talk about the booze
And other nonsense.
When you become disgusted
And bawl them out
For being scissorbills
Sapheads and fools—
At night time
When the boss
Tells you to go
You're not surprised a bit—
ARE YOU?

Suppose that you had
Joined the bunch
With a different spirit
Had told
As good a story
Of your humorous
Hard times
And kind of
Let them know that you
Were normal.
Gradually to get
Into their confidence
And in a clever way
Turn discussion into
Lines that you want.
Soon you talk about
Working class conditions
In all the world
And right on the job.
Even though they disagree
Don't you think
It's best to have the bunch
So any other
Wob can talk
Where you left off?
DONTCHA NOW— DONTCHA?
Achef.

Economics in American Universities

By Max Lippert Larkin

ROUGHLY speaking, university economics can be divided into three periods—the positively scientific, the pragmatic and the modern business-college type.

In the days of Adam Smith, when the labor movement was as yet unborn, the problem of wages and of the distribution of wealth was handled very simply and yet, on the surface, quite scientifically by the seers.

Wherever one could travel and observe, one would find that labor was getting enough, but no more than necessary to sustain life. Therefore, the great scientists argued, there is a natural law that labor must inevitably get no more than is necessary for its existence. So, just as it was foolish to change, or even to try to change, the natural order of the stars and their movements, so was it vain to change the great, immutable, scientific natural law upon which the pay for labor seemed to them to be regulated.

To be sure, it sounded pessimistic—it presaged an eternally miserable fate for the working man; but “economists” must bravely face the facts—and spread them. Besides, they thought, if labor once got this great truth into its “noodle,” all social restlessness would at once be prevented and labor would try to find its salvation in spiritual realms!.. Pathetic and insignificant were the scholastic discussions as to what was meant by “bare existence as the regulator of wages.” Did it mean, enough for a working man to save for old age; did it mean, enough for a working man and his family; did it mean, mere physical existence?

They could not explain the difference between the amount of subsistence necessary, say, for a Chinaman, and that necessary for an Englishman of that day. Once they had gradually drifted into certain standards of living they felt the need of modifying the phrase “bare existence,” but they continued to stick throughout to this “great scientific law” because it was a common condition throughout the universe, therefore, they said, it must be a natural law that labor could not get any more.

The textile industries began to organize, strikes occurred, and some support for the masters was demanded from the theoreticians of the “natural law.” Several economists tried to patch it up, notably Malthus. He argued, the poverty of the masses is a natural law because it is an existing condition. He discovered the “law” of population and supply, according to which poverty becomes still more inevitable, still more natural, and still more scientific.

There are still several representatives of this school living right among us and sincerely arguing

in its favor. The former head of the economics department of Chicago University, who is still its Professor Emeritus, defended it and preached it for many years in our own midst. He was humane enough to hold out one hope for labor—the saving habit.

When a student would indicate that it might be very difficult for a laborer to save on the present scale of wages, he would kindly and seriously, for the millionth time, relate the story of a rich man who carried his own laundry to the shop to save twenty per cent.

But back of this grotesque and inapplicable remedy one could sense the positive pronouncement that all our economic relations and industrial occurrences are due, mercilessly and inevitably, to great economic, natural laws against which revolt is foolish.

Pragmatism—the Questioning

Now let us return to the breakdown of the “scientific” period in college economics. Only a few relics of this period are at present left in our universities.

We must remember that the great underlying principle of that type of economics was the argument for the inevitability of poverty. So well founded and substantiated was this dogma that its greatest enemies accepted parts of it.

“Poverty is inevitable,” admitted Mill, Lasalle and Karl Marx, “but only under the present system. Change or modify or destroy the present system, and poverty ceases to be inevitable.”

Thinking workers heard this message. It aided them to an awakening consciousness of their strength and importance. With various changes, this optimistic viewpoint on the lot of the workers became popular.

The universities dare not accept this modern view.

It involves flux, human effort, social volition, and all these capricious, non-scientific, uncontrollable forces. They therefore chose an alternative. They rejected their own theory, refused to accept the evolutionary viewpoint, and created a new school—positive, less fatalistic, more hopeful, encouraging and boastful, but just as clever a defense of our modern class relationships. This school has generated the productive theory.

No more does a working man receive little because it is the law of nature, but because he does not produce enough, so say the new seers.

From the fact that an employer would rather dispense with the services of a laborer than pay him a higher wage, yet is willing to pay high wages to a foreman, a good salesman or a highly skilled working man, the new school of economists draws

the final proof for their contentions, just because the accounting department tells the employers that the laborer does not produce enough to warrant paying him a higher wage.

Smugly and proudly do hundreds of college professors preach this doctrine daily to our college students. It at once quashes the indictment of capitalist society and holds forth—supposedly—a definite remedy for our social ills.

Produce More!

One can easily see that, in the first place, the idea of the social problem as a whole is broken up by reverting to a highly individualized scheme of reform. This at once centers the attention upon the individual struggle between the various members of society. It is evident that if the modern distribution of wealth can be proven to be based directly upon the idea of productivity, this distribution at once becomes just and inevitable, and can be changed only in so far as the individual workingman will improve his own productive capacity.

It is almost heartrending to watch young college boys and girls who, because they may be aware of the wave of social reconstruction, attack the wise and cynical professor with their numerous questions: "Does the employer get no more than he produces?"—"What share of the general increased wealth, because of new discoveries and inventions, goes to the masses?"—"Why is there such a great uniformity of poverty among working men?"—"What about unemployment?" The more daring souls ask whether trade unions, strikes or I. W. W.'s can force the employing class to give a larger share to the workers.

Decay of Prestige

I wish I could reproduce here a snapshot of the professor answering these eager youngsters. He reads to them a quotation in which it is proven that wages can mathematically be determined by multiplying and inter-multiplying and dividing about ten fixed and variable quantities. The students, he academically warns, must not forget that they are and must remain scientific observers and must not be moved by what he calls a "popular" and "ipso facto" unscientific, economic chattel.

There are, he points out, too many reformers, too many forces interfering with these wonderful mathematical truths, too many unions upsetting violently the productivity theory, by forcing a raise in wages through their sheer numerical strength.

Add to this the many revolutionary organizations and other upsetters, and our universities are desperate and are giving up what they consider an impossible job. One could write an elegy on the death of the economic departments of the American universities.

In some other article we may try to trace the development of the sociological department to which the faculty on economics contentedly transfers the task of handling the troublesome problems of labor, social service, distribution of income, etc., which is but the grandest passing of the buck.

It would be too much to expect of them to yield their private jobs and the income that the teaching of economics afforded. They will give up their high position of economic prophets, but far be it from them, the old and wise economists, to give up the economists' incomes, meager though they be.

Now the latest and most modern type of economics department has blossomed out. It is called the college of business administration. For dignity's sake they still employ one or two old-fashioned economists, but the bulk of money and energy goes to the school of commerce. We find the smooth, clerky type of professor of political economy, who gets invited to the convention dinners of various manufacturers' associations, who actually feels that he is no longer a detached, useless academician but the practical man of affairs in a practical world.

All shame is thrown off. No more is found the old pretentiousness of a systematic school of thought, of academic, cultural pursuits. Callousness is triumphant.

Today the average business college does its job of turning out individualists much better and much cheaper than the university. Hundreds of young men and women are yearly misled by the hope that in the department of economy they will find some reply to the many questions everyday life asks, particularly now when we are in the midst of a great economic struggle. Their questions are mocked and perverted. They find no answer there.

There is solace for us in this final tottering of "political economy." The field is left by the defeated enemy. We are the only ones to discuss the economic problems seriously and scientifically. As a former instructor, I may be pardoned if I express the wish and hope that some way could be found to transmit our lessons in economics to the hundreds of college boys and girls to whom we may some day have to appeal to side with us.



A Letter from Russia

Dear M.:

Moscow, Russia,
May 2, 1921.

ARRIVED here without mishap. Write me care of Hotel Lux, Moscow, as this is the hotel of the delegates. As you no doubt know, the Industrial Union convention has been postponed till July. The Third International meets in June and the Trade Unions of Russia on the 15th of May. So we will have many things to keep us busy.

Three more years of proletarian rule here and the world will go 'Communist' in the next generation if not before. In our wildest days of activity we never reached such enthusiasm, such devotion to our idea as has the Russian vanguard, the Communist party.

The Army School

One day we stumped in to a building, having heard the sound of the band during the graduation exercises of a group of Red Commanders. Just a few months before these had been gathered from their peasant and workman activities to come to the school for red officers. The school was in the Kremlin, in what used to be the barracks of the Kremlin guard. There were 1300 students from all quarters of Russia. Fine, husky workmen and peasant lads.

The graduating comrades are speeded into the ranks protecting Soviet Russia, by exercises simple yet full of revolutionary meaning. We were there unexpectedly, yet at once the international character of the occasion required that we from America, England, etc., greet these new defenders of the conquests of the Revolution. Then they must needs show us their quarters. As one passed through the rows of cots, one noticed the books, the signs of study...

Their club room is in the old palace of the widow of some Grand Duke. It is just under the windows of the room where Lenin works. On the walls of the clubroom, near the ceiling as a decorative border are inscriptions as follows:

"Study the old but create the new."

"The proletarian class must create its own art."

"Art will beautify your life and enlighten your mind."

"Art for the people."

"Long live the art of the workers."

The walls are decorated with painting by the student commanders. When before was an army interested in creating anything, especially literature and art? Their magazine is called "The Hammer and Sword," their emblem is the red star. The I. W. W. emblem has three such stars.

Industrial Construction

In Russia the industrial construction is on. In Theater Square, the first of May, and throughout Moscow, were erected billboards full of posters of

production. To the right a pile of coal; to the left a pile of peat; here a record of coal and iron production in the Urals and the Don region; there a graphic representation of transportation, looking as if it had just stepped out of a college textbook on industrial economics. Education and ideas in Russia are for the workers.

Here is a silhouette of a Red soldier with red flag, cheering a dark background of marching workers who carry pick and shovel. Over there is a full view of a peasant digging with his hoe. Everywhere the value of labor is pushed to the front. This all promises much for the future. To realize it Soviet Russia wants peace.

Holidays in Moscow

For the first time in the history of Soviet Russia the first of May is a peaceful holiday. Before this Russia has been at war. This Mayday the people were in holiday spirits. They filled the parks. From the center of the city came street cars in groups of two, one a flat car decorated as a stage, carried the actors and speakers to the people. Auto and trucks reached the places off the car lines. It was a day of pleasure and propaganda. I went with a car of players dressed to represent the Mexicans and the cowboys of southwestern United States. The visiting speakers, besides myself, were representatives of the miners from Great Britain and of the Communist party from the United States. We spoke to five large crowds.

All the theatres closed a few days previous to Mayday and the actors prepared the international plays which they gave from the street car stages. The whole world was brought in costume to Moscow. As a part of each performance the international delegates addressed the crowds. Each meeting closed by everyone singing the Internationale with great enthusiasm. The children sang best. Soviet Russia celebrated her first peaceful first of May. No one was killed—no one was clubbed in Moscow's Mayday.

Yesterday, in one of Moscow's many parks, the English delegates and a few substitutes played football against a team of Russian schoolboys of 18 to 20 years old. It was an English game, but this game went to the Russians. The ball was in English territory throughout the play and the score was England 0, Russian schoolboys 12. There are a few very stiff delegates this morning.

In Soviet Russia the people are still eating black bread with pleasure when it can be obtained. Every worker gets a certain amount from the soviets. To their ration most of them add occasional purchases from the peasants. Crowds in Moscow look well dressed and well fed. Yet the food situation necessitates conservation of supplies until the next harvest.

Industry and the Army

Soviet Russia's industry is still in the stage of small handicraft production. Her social organization, excepting that of the army and of education, is somewhere between that of Mexico and the United States. Those who know among the English, French and German delegates, say that Soviet Russia's army is the best in the world for organization, skill, morale and general efficiency. Its limitations are the backwardness of Russian industry. Yet Soviet Russia has reached a daily production of 1000 machine guns and 5000 rifles. It has equipped over one million soldiers entirely with the products of its own manufacture. All this in the face of ruin, and the civil war which capitalism and Kerensky left behind them. Primitive and modern production go on side by side. Auto trucks deliver the Soviet ration. The peasant carries his food for sale on his back. Many people are worrying over the "free trade" and the speculation, but it is really only a push-cart competition compared to the developing communist soviet economy.

The educational system is experimental, but everywhere efficient. The theatres are under the Department of Education. The schools and pupils must be seen to be appreciated. Without books, paper, pencils, ink or adequate buildings, education has gone on and on to new victories. The school children go to the theatre. They see "Carmen," the ballets, the drama, the "Blue Bird" of Maeterlinck. They make excursions. Now the school children of Moscow have gone out of the city. The country homes built by the czarist nobility are now the summer playgrounds of the children. So the children learn.

Social Action

Social hygiene has done wonders in two years. It works along the lines of education and prevention. It has established museums everywhere. It organizes groups and gives lectures in these museums, on man and healthy bodies.

The Communist party of Russia is carrying the burden of the revolution on its shoulders. They have been given that burden by history. There is no other group to bear even a part of the work of pointing out the way for the masses. The Communists work harder and live on less than any other section of the population. The program of the party is holding the masses on the road to communism. All other roads seem to lead to counter-revolution.

Literally, the Communists of Russia are "building

the new society within the shell of the old." One can see the "new" sprouting everywhere. The destructive work has reached a foundation, and on that foundation the building will expand until it breaks the old shell. This partly explains the fact that the churches are unmolested and doing business as usual, on a reduced patronage.

Celebrations

Sunday there was a ceremony celebrating the liquidation of the Kronstadt counter-revolution. "Ye have been naught, ye shall be all." Trotsky was the speaker of the day and his voice rang out over the assembled mass of the Red soldiers and workers like the crack of a whip. It rebounded from the shops at the far side of the Red Square and rolled over the crowd. Concluding the speeches, Trotsky presented on behalf of the Red Army and Soviet Russia, a banner to the regiments who fought in Kronstadt. Later there was held a military review which was the event of the day. How they marched! The youths of Labor, carrying Labor's flag, red, with gold letters, the stars and the new rising sun shining through the crowned hammer and sickle!

Soviet Russia can defend herself. She knows how to march to war, if war be necessary. Her seven years of horror have imposed their cost, but they have trained. Every soldier is a post-graduate in the art of defense, gun in hand. Her manpower seems to be untouched. Her people are trained to withstand the shock of a war—a war for a cause. What greater cause than the cause of Labor? Yet Soviet Russia wants peace. The hammer and sickle are tired of rusting away because of war.

You should have seen the red sashes and wiry horses of the artillery, the red caps of the cavalry, the long, grey coats of the infantry! Heard the songs and cheers of the bicycle corps, automachine guns and tanks, dressed in black leather coats! To their right, as they marched lay the graves of the revolutionary dead beneath the Kremlin wall... To their left stood, crowded together, a vast gathering of the workers of Moscow... Unless the Red Army is there, do not go to the Red Square to rejoice—for it is the resting place of the heroic dead. But the Red Guards give it the color and life of the new victories of Labor.

It has been raining the last few days in Russia, which is good for the harvest and the revolution. The rain this season is drowning the mensheviks.

Card No. 418,588.



Nationalism and Direct Action in India

By A Hindoo Nationalist

THE Hindoos are a race of mystics. Their philosophical conceptions seem weird and foolish to the average realistic I. W. W. Yet as this letter shows they have put into real action under other names realistic tactics that the I. W. W. has not yet had opportunity to try on as large a scale. This article with its honest presentation of nationalism and class co-operation gives an accurate picture of India today.—(Editor).

The New Movement in India

The wave of new ideas that swept czaristic despotism out of Russia and struck terror to the hearts of the plutocrats of the world, has not missed India. "Depots must go" is the present cry of India. She is determined to weed out despotism root and branch from her land, and true to her traditions she has adopted "soul force" as her weapon to fight out her salvation.

Mahatma Gandhi, the devotee of soul force, the uncrowned prince of India, is the brain of this movement. He has dedicated himself to win "Swaraj" (independence for India).

Mr. C. R. Das and several attorneys of Calcutta High Court together with numerous lawyers in the provincial courts have given up their practices and are devoting their entire time to rousing the people so as to attain freedom. A host of government officials all over the country have also resigned.

A huge propaganda work to liberate the country from British imperialistic designs, is on foot. Boycott of British piece goods is also in full swing. The peasants of Bengal have given up jute cultivation for export purposes and are raising food crops to stop the tide of famine. Excise taxes (government taxes on liquor and various drinks etc.) are hard hit. Even the most sodden and ignorant of people are giving up drinking rather than support the government to the extent of paying their drink tax. They are organizing "panchayat" (village councils) of their own to decide matters for themselves.

Public sentiment is running high against the British government. His Highness the Duke of Connaught who came to India to formally declare the so-called Reform Scheme for India, was completely boycotted by the public under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. "Hartal" (boycott or strike) followed his Royal Highness wherever he went. Shops and markets were closed and there was complete suspension of business. Taxicabs and all kinds of conveyances stopped running in Calcutta and the mill laborers and railroad workers ceased working. The Britishers had to walk home from the railroad station and carry their own luggage.

Hartal is now a matter of everyday occurrence. In past years enthusiastic welcome was the order of the day when the government officials came to visit towns. Now they are greeted by hartal. On

one occasion when the governor of the state of Bengal went to visit Dacca (a town of some 200,000 population) the hartal was so complete that even the mighty Bengal police could not get a coolie or a carriage to carry the baggage of his Excellency from the station. The authorities offered as much as a hundred dollars (American money) to the laborers and four hundred dollars to the drivers but no one responded. Such is the temper of the country.

Another incident will tell you of the present mind of the people even more clearly. Recently Mr. C. R. Das went to Mymensingh to address a meeting. When he reached the town in the morning a notice was served him at the station prohibiting him to enter the city by order of the Additional District Magistrate who was a Britisher. About ten thousand people gathered outside to welcome C. R. Das. As soon as the news of the government order reached the ears of the waiting public, there was a great excitement. Mr. C. R. Das, true to the principle of the non-violent, non-co-operation movement insisted that they should leave the station coolly and wait for developments.

The news spread through the entire city and the shop keepers began to close down their shops, the lawyers left the courts, the laborers laid down their tools, and the students, who were busy at their matriculation examinations, left the examination halls.

In vain did the Additional Magistrate plead with the people to go back. Shops, courts and manufacture were closed and not only in the city. The movement spread to nearby towns. The situation became so tense that a higher authority was forced to intervene and suspend the order of the Additional Magistrate prohibiting Mr. C. R. Das to speak in the city. The government felt it necessary to apologise to the people—but the people understood.

An Explanation

By misunderstanding the first part of a story by W. J. McSweeney, entitled "Hunting a Job in the Clouds," was run in the July issue of the Industrial Pioneer. A book review was all that should have been run as the story was copyrighted.

To those who wish to conclude the story it can be obtained from the writer at 5520 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill., for twenty-five cents a copy or for twelve dollars and fifty cents a hundred.

WOBBALES

In a blind boosting article the Merchants and Manufacturers News claims that in no period in the history of the United States has greater progress been made than during the first half of 1921.

With stronger organization we could smear a little grease on the toboggan and the Merchants and Manufacturers would gain more speed yet.

World progress can easily be estimated. In ancient Greece the average freeman considered that he needed five slaves to take care of himself and family. Today one slave produces enough to take care of five families.

In 1904 the average power used by each industrial worker was two and one half horsepower. In 1920 he used three and a half horsepower. By the end of 1922 it is predicted that he will be using some headpower.

The program of the American Legion seems to now be in harmony with tendencies in other organizations. Even they are becoming industrial. According to the latest reports they have spoken against the advisability of raiding wobbly halls and are bending their efforts toward job activity. Scabbing on striking union men is conceded by them to be better tactics than mass action.

Perhaps after all the fifteen Legion members that kidnapped Kate Richards O'Hare from Twin Falls, Idaho, only were playing a little game of Hare and Hounds.

We must heed the Legion's claim of having accomplished a 500,000 organization drive. Numbers lend needed courage when it comes to kidnapping a woman.

A governor pardoned an elderly man for his activities against the war. Because of the vehement protests from the Legion, he was forced to cancel the pardon. Another war for democracy and these boys will turn cannibals.

The bonus so hard fought for by the Legion was protested against by President Harding. Maybe he thinks the way we do, that the bosses ought to pay them direct for their valuable assistance.

There was one lad who went to war against his wishes. During a battle he was the only one of the bunch who had the courage to assist an officer caught in a dangerous position. He was a member of the I. W. W.

The government awarded him one of the highest honors for his display of courage. When discharged he displayed his working class honor by taking out I. W. W. organizer's credentials and going to work in industry.

Plain prose can do no justice to the type of heroes characterized as America's Ideal by president Elliot of Harvard. Like Homer we must burst into song:

A patriotic blood and guts instructor
Is no longer on the job these peaceful eves.
For peace, the bloodless, scheming, arch disrupter
Had turned him loose—with chevrons on his sleeves.

A predigested headline labor bomb plot
He spied, above premeditated lies.
His brain—a mass of corrugated dry rot—
Was duck soup for the boss to hypnotize.

A weary disillusioned agitatrix
Was marked down as a Bolshevistic spy.
She prestidigitated as a waitress
And went on strike for wages—none too high.

Our hero with his bloody inclination
Was mobilized and marched upon the scene.
He scabbed upon the girl—and saved the nation
By scalding thumbs in every soup tureen!



The British Miners' Struggle

A GRAND fight took place between the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the British Coal Owners' Association, backed and supported by the government. The skirmishes that have preceded this gigantic struggle commenced in the early eighties. They followed along until the first national clash that was reached. This was the six weeks' strike for a national minimum wage when legislation was hurried through the House of Commons guaranteeing the miners a minimum wage of five shillings per day, whether they were employed on the piece-work system or on the day-wage system.

Previous to this, thousands of skilled hewers in the bituminous mines in the Forest of Dean and South Wales district, were unable to earn more than from three to four shillings per working day of nine and a half hours. Since that time numerous strikes have taken place in the different districts which have been long and bitter struggles, and are more and more inclined to take on the attitude of the class struggle.

Miners' Union and the State

By the way, it is very interesting to observe the attitude of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain during the European war towards the state. Sidney Webb's "History of Trade Unions" says: "Trade unionism itself has been tacitly accepted as a part of the administrative machinery of the state."

The getting and enforcing of legislation is, it seems, historically, as much a part of a trade union's function as maintaining a strike.

Trade unionism, in 1920, won its recognition by Parliament and the government, by law and by custom, as a separate element in the community, "entitled to distinct recognition as a part of the social machinery of the state." "It is now distinctly represented on Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees. It has entered the inner Council of the Government, and is recognized as part of the machinery of state administration." (In 1917 coal control was instituted, in 1918 a coal mine control agreement was made.)

The miners were pampered by the government during the war, the unions themselves assisting in recruiting and combing out their members from the mines. Conditions in general assisted greatly in the rapid development of this big cumbersome organization.

Destroying the Miners' Political Position

The British imperialists are now undertaking the work of destruction. The state has no future use for such an organization. Leading up towards the present clash one can carefully analyze the Coal Commission inquiry of March 19, formed by the

government to deal with the demands of the miners for a six-hour day and a guaranteed wage of one pound a day.

This committee consisted of twelve persons and a chairman, Judge Sankey. Three commissioners were coal owners, three were miners representatives, three were (impartial?) representatives of allied great industries, three were economists, representatives of democratic ideas.

After several weeks' sitting, during which one hundred and twelve witnesses were examined, a report was presented to the government. Clause nine of the report says: "Even upon evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working of the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it—either nationalization, or a method of unification of national purchase, or by joint control." Also, Sankey recommended the continuance of coal control for three years from the date of the report.

The point-blank refusal of the government to carry out the decisions on an enquiry selected by themselves proved an eye-opener to the miners. Their distrust of the existing government was demonstrated throughout the country by vigorous protests sent forward from mass meetings denouncing them for the manner in which they turned down the recommendations of the respective Coal Commission inquiry. The government undoubtedly was disappointed with the report of Judge Sankey, because it indirectly suggested state ownership and joint control. Many important features were disclosed at this inquiry which were generally unknown.

Nevertheless the Coal Commission and the inquiry were strategical tactics used by the exploiters to postpone any direct action that threatened the interests of the industries concerned. In July, 1919, the country of Yorkshire, with one hundred and seventy thousand miners, struck work for five or six weeks over two points difference, in the award. The owners were offering 12.2%, while the miners' contention was that they were entitled to 14.2%. This ended in defeat for the miners.

Falling for Compromises

In October, 1920, the miners are again found taking up the cudgels and were persuaded by their reactionary leaders to accept a temporary settlement of the matter in dispute. This is known as the datum line strike, where the government was desirous of basing wages upon national output. With the fluctuations of production, wages increased or decreased.

This was strongly resented by the miners, knowing that they have no voice in the management of

the mines, or the development of the industry. The directorates of the large colliery combines held the lever of production in their own hands.

Nevertheless, certain terms were submitted to the men to be balloted upon for a temporary settlement, the government pledging to create an apparatus in the form of National Wages Board. This was to be ready by the end of March. The result of the ballot was a majority of 8459 against the terms, this according to rule not being sufficient to continue the strike (the rule stating that a majority of two-thirds is necessary before a strike can be called) work was resumed under a temporary agreement, the same extending over March, 1921.

Making Economic Demands

The government held firmly to their decisions upon the decontrol of the mines on the 31st of March, in spite of the appeals from the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to at least extend the period for another six months. "The industry must pay its own way without any further subsidies from the treasury."

Miners' Demands

- a) National Wages Board.
- b) Standard wage of present basic wages and district percentages, plus last year's 20% advance.
- c) Standard profit to employers to be 10% of national aggregate wages.
- d) Surplus over this 10 per cent to be divided, 90% to miners and 10% to owners.

Owners' Demands

- a) District Boards.
- b) Present basic rates plus percentage paid in 1914 to be standard wage.
- c) Standard employers' profit to be 17% of district aggregates.
- d) Surplus to be divided, 80% to miners and 20% to owners.

The Form of Organization

A brief explanation of the system in pre-war days will explain the reason why the owners desire to take a retrogressive step to the district boards.

The industry itself consisted of thirteen districts with a wage or conciliation board for each of these districts. The miners' organizations were also geographically divided and equal in number, each section of the Miners' Federation having autonomy to make its own agreement and settle its own disputes. This meant that each agreement expired at a prearranged date. Agreements were skilfully manoeuvred never to expire at any time two districts together.

Hence sectional strikes took place against the forces of the National Coal Owners' Association. The result was naturally defeat for the workers. The rapid growth of industrial unionism in the mining country during the war makes it absolutely impossible to revert to district wage agreement.

The above terms were submitted to the different

districts to vote upon. Two districts were for acceptance, Yorkshire and Northumberland. For rejection there were eleven, S. Wales, the whole of Scotland, Durham, Lancashire and Cheshire, Nottingham, Derbyshire, N. Wales, Gloucester and Forest of Dean. Important meetings took place between the government, the miners and the coal owners.

Preparing for Direct Action

Nothing, however, was accomplished by the government towards bridging fundamental differences between owners and men. The executives of the Miners' Federation discussed for two hours the situation before meeting Sir R. Horne. At the close of the meeting Frank Hodges issued the following statement: "It has been resolved that the following communication be sent to the districts, that all strike notices must take effect regardless of occupation in every mine and plant in the Miners' Federation."

This meant that the pumpsmen and others, enginemen and ventilation men were to cease work on the 31st of March simultaneously with other mine workers. Without question, this was the most effective move by the miners to induce the owners to yield to their demands. It forced the hands of the government who was declaring its neutrality in the fight. Immediately the decision became known, the neutrality of the government passed out of pretended existence and provision for employing naval ratings to work the pumps followed.

Stopping the Works

On April 1st, the three thousand three hundred mines were closed down and a general stoppage of the whole of the British coal fields resulted. This, in my opinion, is the dawn of the greatest industrial crisis in the world's history, and should take on an absolutely revolutionary character. With skill and directive ability it should lead up towards the goal.

The State Emergency Act of 1920 was immediately put into force. Every coercive unit was mobilized for government use.

On March 31st, the Miners' Executive Committee proceeded to Unity House where it joined with the Executive Committee of the National Railwaymen's Union and Transport Workers' Union. Conferences were called to take place on the 5th and 6th of April. These conferences decided to give full support to the miners.

At the same time skirmishes were taking place in different parts between the police and the miners. Shots were fired at blacklegs in Lanarkshire, also some supply trains stopped and looted. Colliery officials engaged in working the pumps were given fifteen minutes to clear.

On April 6th, the prime minister sent letters to Hodges and to Evan Williams, President of the Mining Association, offering to move for the reopening of negotiations between the miners and the owners, "but he assumed that the miners would

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first have taken steps to ensure the mines from being flooded. The miners' Executive Committee, when informed of this condition, indicated that it would not agree to order back the pumpmen, and also with regard to pit ponies said," if there are any ponies in the mines they are there with the approval of the management."

Negotiations Again

The prime minister withdrew the condition that was laid down by him, and summoned both parties to meet on April 11th, the Railwaymen and Transport Workers having warned the government that if negotiations were not resumed they would strike in sympathy with the miners on the 12th of April. The characteristic peacemaker that plays a conspicuous part at this juncture is the yellow-gutted J. H. Thomas.

Bob Williams, the secretary of the Transport Workers, in an interview, says with gasbag bombast: "That the full power of the Triple Alliance is and from Tuesday next will stand as binding as when the decision was passed."

The proposals submitted by the government to the Executive Committee of the miners were practically the same as the original terms of the owners. Only they had a little coloring and dressing peculiar to documents that are issued from that quarter.

In the actual words of Hodges as speaking for the Executive Committee: "We have fully considered the terms set forth in writing this morning by you. For reasons already stated to you in full conference, my executives feel compelled to reject the terms proposed as they offer no solution to the present dispute."

After fourteen days lockout of over one million miners, during which period the Triple Alliance had made two definite postponements of its threatened strike, a further threat was issued which says: "Tonight at 10 o'clock, unless the government gives way, over one million railway and transport workers are ready to strike and to enforce by direct means what reason and argument have failed to ensure."

On April 15th Frank Hodges addressed a meeting of members of Parliament at Downing Street, and suggested a temporary settlement. Condemnation of such conduct by the miners' Executive Committee caused Hodges to offer to resign.

Playing the Traitors

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, J. H. Thomas and Bob Williams made the following dramatic announcement: "Our communication to the three organizations, National Union of Railwaymen, Enginemen and Firemen and Transport Workers, is to announce that the strike called for tonight is canceled."

The explanation given for the same was that the miners' Executive Committee refused to accept the prime minister's invitation to a conference based upon Frank Hodges' personal remark to certain members of Parliament.

During the whole of this period the most militant section of the miners were the Scotch, who were kept at the point of bayonet from executing further destruction to machinery and the pitheads, yet huge quantities of coal and wood were carried away, the police being unable to cope with the strikers. The estimated cost of same amounted to 20,000 pounds sterling.

Forming White Guards

At this time, the government, through the press, was endeavouring to create an impression that the miners were raising a political issue when they insisted on a National Wages Board and National Pool. The government stated that they are purely economic questions not concerned with politics.

The only suggestion of a political character was raised by the prime minister himself. An army of 300,000 men, White Guards, are at the disposal of the government for distribution over affected areas. A defense corps also, consisting mostly of middle class youths enlisted in the role of privates and also acting as spies, was an indication of the determination of the employing class to crush the workers into submission.

Miners Show Fighting Spirit

At this juncture the feelings of the miners were again tested after the latest betrayal of the Triple Alliance. The results of the voting show emphatically the fixed determination of the miners to adhere to their original demands by a decisive majority of fourteen to one. It is safe to say, that the British miner is a real fighter and displays great courage and power of endurance over minor questions in dispute.

His characteristics are prominently displayed in strikes for the improvement of working conditions, and wage advances or against reductions. He will undoubtedly play an active part in the front line trenches when the future attack is made upon capitalism.

Mr. J. H. Thomas and Bob Williams were stormed with written protests from the rank and file after their decisions to cancel the strike of the 15th. The sheer audacity of Thomas is shown when out of 1800 branches only one voted against a strike, yet this sneaking betrayer is allowed to continue in office in spite of such conduct.

Power of Reactionaries

One peculiar feature in the rules of the National Union, of which Jim Thomas is president, is that its executive has power to call a strike, or to cancel strike notices without consulting its members. There is no fear of the present Railwaymen's Executive Committee making use of the former part of that clause. It only affords a channel for the reactionary leaders to put the latter part in operation.

A later phase of the strike developed on April 26th, when the prime minister offered to meet the miners unconditionally. A series of conferences between government, miners and owners commenced on the 26th of April. The result of such a meeting ended in a point blank refusal by the

men to accept the proffered terms. The chancellor of the exchequer made the final offer of the government to the miners on April 28th.

The New Offer

The offer: The sum of 10,000,000 pounds sterling shall be paid by the government to maintain wages during the next four months. This is to subsidise the wages earned on the basic rate laid down by the owners. Thus, giving a guarantee that the reduction in May should not exceed three shillings per day, in June not more than three shillings and six pence and the remainder of the sum to cover July and August.

The government offer:

1. No National Pool.
2. District settlements.
3. Arbitration on the question of new standard wages.
4. Subsidy of 10,000,000 pounds sterling for four months.
5. District cuts of three shillings per shift, for May, three shillings six pence for June, and further losses for July and August.

A delegate conference met on the evening of April twenty-eighth, to consider the proposals of the government and, on the ground that they did not concede to the fundamental principles of the National Wages Board and the National Pool, for which they have already stood firm for four weeks, rejected the offer, by 899,000 votes to 48,000.

Owners Are Crafty

British coal owners are skilled in ring craft and scientific fighting, the developments of this strike is a confirmation of this. The labor leading pawns on the national chess board were moved by the strong hand of the master class to forsake the miners in their great struggle. This proves absolutely the putridity of both Thomas and Bob Williams, and, if no National Pool is conceded by the government the workers of England would do well to create one of their own in which these scoundrels could flounder in their last moments.

To justify their outrageous backslidings, the railwaymen have placed an embargo on all coal in pit sidings, and have instructed their members to refuse to remove it. The consequences of this decision resulted in the Great Northern Railway Co. dismissing nine or ten men. An agitation arose for the reinstatement of these men. That ended in them being reinstated unconditionally.

These are strategical points least understood by the workers themselves, nevertheless sufficiently important to divert the attention of the masses, to fight on matters of minor importance and to allow the great issue to pass unchallenged.

The Miners Determined

The miners are determined to fight to the bitter end. Better to die of starvation in idleness, than to submit to working conditions amounting to nothing better than starvation. If the reductions decided by the owners were accepted, it would

mean to the S. Wales miners eleven shillings, seven pence and four farthings per day reduction, varying in different districts from eleven shillings, seven pence and four farthings to a reduction of about three shillings per day in Yorkshire.

The owners plead that they can pay only what the industry will stand. The miners' reply to that is, that if an industry cannot yield a full livelihood to every worker there is something seriously wrong with it. But, suppose you accept the employers' plea, what then?

Parasites Get Wealth

Let figures talk. The mine owners took out of the industry at least 350,000,000 pounds, in the last twelve years, recovering their capital nearly three times in that period.

In addition, royalty owners took well on to another 100,000,000 pounds.

Huge fees were paid to directors of all the tin-pots concerned and there was all the waste of inefficient methods, overlapping and competition.

Sir Richard Redmayne, His Majesty's Inspector of Mines told the Coal Commission:

"The present system is wasteful and extravagant."

Aspects of Wind Up

The mine owners are divided. A large section wants to abandon the fight and to accept the National Wages Board and National Pool. The other section wants to fight this at all costs. This section draws its strength from the Federation of British Industries whose policy it is to break down national agreements where they already exist. But the Federation of British Industries is wavering as it sees its members' property in peril.

The National Workers' Committee Movement have already circularized all the delegates of the Railway and Transport Workers' Unions about the betrayal by the leaders, and an unofficial strike is being organized to take place on the 15th of May. Action is called for and, in every probability, the Railway and Transport Workers, in defiance of influential leaders, will line up for drastic action on that date.

Need for International O. B. U.

This is the psychological moment in the history of the miners of the world. Conditions in England, Germany and America are mellow and ripe. The cry of the miners for an international is heard in all lands. French capitalists are now dispatching an army of two hundred thousand men to the Ruhr valley, to act as slave drivers on behalf of Entente exploiters and to inflict further tortures upon those miners who have striven to defeat their German oppressors.

Having only a bogey International in Amsterdam and a skeleton mining International serving no other purpose than that of providing an annual holiday for the corpulent leaders, the miners of the world are at the mercy of International capital,

Continued on page 57.



Why can't working men get justice in the courts?—M. B

It is true, as this question seems to infer, that courts are not for the purpose of benefiting working men. However, the use of the term justice muddles up the idea that is wished to convey.

Justice is that ideal state of affairs wherein everyone gets everything that he should have. The only drawback to the installation of justice is that the desires and wants of people are not governed by what they should have but a lot of notions and ideas that are aside from the simple matters of food, clothing and shelter.

When people come in contact with each other there is a certain amount of conflict, for people unlike the bees, have individualistic traits that will not down and that often come uppermost in treating of social matters. In other words human beings are strictly selfish besides being social. This seems to be a matter of inherent instinct besides being well developed through capitalistic education.

Justice then would have to nullify and overcome all the conflicts of selfish desire that might arise. This might be done to the satisfaction of the majority of the community but could never completely satisfy the person who judged that his claims were the greatest. Justice in its true sense cannot satisfy all. In its application it is essentially a matter of force. It may be mental, moral or physical force.

The type of justice which is now handed out to the working men through the capitalistic courts has no connections with the equitable settling of affairs. Capitalistic courts are for one thing mainly, and that is the protection of private property. The protection of life which seems to take up some of its time is treated also in the same manner as protection of property.

Now property interests clash and the purpose of the courts is to settle any such clash not in the interest of one of the contenders but in the interest of the owners of the majority of the property.

Courts are capitalist class institutions for the benefit of the capitalist class. They are not for the workers benefit. This is not because they do not deal out justice. They do deal out justice but it is capitalist justice for the benefit of the majority property owners. They are not for the workers benefit because they do not deal out the workers justice for the benefit of the worker and to the detriment of the capitalist.

The way to achieve working class justice is not to look forward to some utopia where master and slave will lie down in peace together and everyone will do what is "right." The thing that is to the personal interest of the individual always seems right to him. The way to achieve this working class justice is to achieve a tyranny over the capitalist class and deal out what they will term, injustice, to them.

Capitalist courts must tyrannize over the workers, in order to give justice to the capitalists. Workers' courts must tyrannize over the capitalists in order to give justice to the workers. The party with the strongest force wins. The working class cannot get anything but tyranny from capitalist courts.

Why was the American Legion started?—C. W.

The American Legion was started in the United States to act as an extra legal weapon of the capitalist class. Courts are so bound by rules, regulations, precedents etc., that they cannot be mobilized quickly to meet sudden needs and emergencies of the capitalists.

For instance an I. W. W. hall is private property and the court must make a ruling that as this is sacred private property it is inviolate from the incursion of a mob. Otherwise the court would not be upholding the interests of the majority of property owners.

In order to get around these matters it is necessary to have some organization that need not be bothered with these little quibbles. In the United States the American Legion is the result.

The Legion can and does destroy the private and sacred property of the I. W. W. and the capitalist courts gravely rule that such destruction is not lawful and is against the precepts of property ownership. That is as far as it goes.

Not only in America has this weapon of the decaying capitalist class been formed. In Finland it is called the White Guard. In Italy it is the Fascisti. In Ireland the Blacks and Tans. In other countries they have different names but they are all one and the same thing.

Capitalism must have a more drastic and terror inspiring tool than the slow property honoring courts. The assassins knife, the white guards bullet and the rope of the mob of American Legionaires are all instruments of warfare used by the master class to keep the workers in submission while the world totters and seems about to crash into economic chaos.

Book Review

The Labor Movement.—By Frank Tannenbaum:
New York: G. N. Putnam Sons.

A FELLOW gets a cynical attitude towards new books on the labor movement these days: there is so much damning with faint praise and attempting to reconcile the classes which have nothing in common. So when the post man brought around a plum colored volume, "The Labor Movement," published by G. N. Putnam Sons, I picked it up half sceptically, till the name of the author struck my eye—"Frank Tannenbaum."

"Frank Tannenbaum," I reflected, "Oh yes, he is the fellow worker who did a year in Blackwells Island for using one of the homes of Christ for a lodging house, without the permission of the church wardens, during the desperate unemployment days of 1914—he and some two hundred others who had not where to lay their heads. After that he figured in the Bayonne strike, and then he sort of dropped out of sight. But here he comes up again with a well bound book from the most respectable of publishing houses, and about the labor movement. "Well," I thought, "We'll look it over," though I guessed that Frank had "slipped."

But the first few pages quickly undeceived me. There was still nothing in common between the two classes as far as he was concerned.

Said a paragraph in Part 1:

"There are apparently only two alternatives. Either the business community is going to destroy the labor movement or the labor movement will absorb the control and power now in the hands of the business community, and by such absorption displace competition and substitute co-operation."

This was introduced by previous chapters explaining how the workers who operated the machinery of production were forced to unite into social defensive forces—the unions—to resist the exploitation of the owners of the machines.

These unions are forced by the nature of the fight to struggle without ceasing toward the control of the machine, whether they know the direction they are traveling or not, and the owner is likewise forced to carry the fight to them. It is a fight for security, for this is the age of insecurity for everyone, business man and worker, though the insecurity presses hardest on the worker. The fight for security centers around the machine which is the center of gravity in modern civilization. Workers' control of the machine means the elimination of capitalism as truly as the development of commerce meant the elimination of the feudal system, and the struggle must go on till unionism is broken entirely or business is displaced entirely.

It all sounded very much like the opening guns of the historic class war document of 1905 and I looked for more, and found it. The opening lines of Chapter X, on "Industrial Government," read as follows:

Building the New Society

"In its preamble the Industrial Workers of the World proclaims that in organizing along industrial lines the labor movement is "building the structure of a new society within the shell of the old." This sounds like an extravagant statement. On analysis, however, of the actual contribution to the structural changes which the labor movement is making to society, it becomes evident that the quoted opinion is more than a wish."

Though this particular quotation is taken from the middle of the book the greater part of the volume is devoted to a development of this general theme. Tannenbaum shows how the unions are building the new society. The most important method which he cites, in my opinion, is the actual structural organization of producers' units, though the author perhaps lays largest emphasis on the unions' work in developing the social sense through group consciousness. This idea runs through the entire book and is illustrated with all its many sides. No other force in American life, says the writer, equals the union in transmuting individual consciousness into group consciousness. Whether a worker joins a union with the most conservative defensive purposes or not, he argues, the effect of his new environment is nearly always to shed off his narrow individualism and to give him more or less of the common social aim—the desire for group betterment. Many individuals are caught so thoroughly by the new atmosphere that they will make the highest sacrifices for the benefit of the group, and even those who retain selfish aims—such as the desire for the applause of the group, are by the same token thinking in group terms. Though this development of group consciousness is only one function of the labor union, in fact is a by-product, yet it is one of the most valuable contributions to the times. The more unsocial and migratory a worker has been, because of the nature of his work, the greater the social service which is performed by his unionization. Pointing out that the I. W. W. has been the chief force in the organization of such workers he says:

"This in a measure tends to give the I. W. W. an importance which is generally overlooked. It makes independent, self-reliant, thoughtful and socially-minded men out of migratory, unskilled and isolated workers."

"It might also be remarked," he says later, "that this fact probably tends to explain the loyalty which the workers who have been organized by the I. W. W. have shown to the organization in the face of almost unbearable persecution. Their need for association is so intense, their individual helplessness is so great, that no amount of pressure, apparently, can break the love, the idealism and the loyalty which has grown up around this instrument of self-defense and this means of personal dignity."

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The solidarity of labor is made possible, he says, because the unions group men together in such a natural way. They are brought together in their unions as they are united by their skill or by their industry. The machine is the center of gravity. This mechanical setting holds the workers together as they cannot be held together by unassisted idealism—though idealism is a by-product of the labor movement. The steel rails of the railroads hold the railroad unions together, he says, and the mines bind the miners into one body.

(It might be said here is passing that the more nearly men are organized according to the way they work the greater is their solidarity, and vice versa, which is one explanation of the failure of a craft union to hold together after the craft has been displaced by modern industrial processes).

This socializing influence of the unions, goes on Tannenbaum, extends through the district councils to the workers of the community; through the national unions to workers in the same industry all over the country; and through international industrial consciousness, based partly on the international nature of industry, comes a measure of international industrial solidarity, even in advance of international unionism. This international solidarity has been shown in the many instances of direct action by which the war of the Allies on the Russian Labor Republic has been held back, as when American longshoremen refused to send ammunition abroad.

The Seattle strike is given to illustrate the workings of the structure of the new society which is building within the shell of the old, the author telling how the industrial representatives of the workers administered the feeding of the city and the supplying of milk for babies when power fell from the helpless hands of the politicians.

A Producers Government

The "Labor Movement" sees the politician as an animal out of date in this age of industrial grouping. Every extension of unionism, with its growth of power for the workers and its system of industrial representation, means a lessening of the power of territorially organized political rule. When full organization of labor has been reached, and full power consequently is transferred to the workers, then the government will naturally fall into the hands of the representatives of the industries. Tannenbaum cannot see where the geographically organized political state will have a chance to function and he gives some pages to the subject of British Guild Socialism, the social theory which would compromise the proposals of state socialists and industrialists. The guild socialist theory would have a political parliament, representing the citizens according to territory, as consumers, sitting side by side with a producers' congress representing the workers according to industry, as producers. Producer and consumer are one and the same in a workers' society, explains Tannenbaum, and as such will have common interests, the interests in-

involved in adequate production of the things most needed for human life. The determination of the quantity of production, according to the consumptive needs of the workers and the various industries which use raw products, is something for the producers themselves to determine.

Industrial representation means functional representation; that is, each representative in the producers' congress, or central council of the industrial unions, will represent not only a certain set of workers but the work itself, and he will presumably be acquainted with the facts of the industry he is elected to represent. In his duties, of course, he will be assisted by experts and statisticians, but his industrial experience will enable him to understand the data submitted on the subjects under advisement. The contrast with a political state organized on a basis of territorial representation, with the representative responsible for the interests of a mixed community containing a hundred different industries, becomes obvious.

Industrial Education

In this connection the writer gives a valuable chapter on labor education:

"Industrial democracy requires organization," he explains. "Next to organization it must have education about industry by those who are to manipulate it on a democratic basis."

"This is the problem of working class education that radicals and socialists who have talked about industrial democracy have generally neglected, and yet this is the problem of working class education."

"The primary aim of this education should be to make each worker in the industry conscious of the more general character and relationships of the industry and the part he plays in it."

He goes on to tell of the necessity of any worker who would participate in the direction of the industry visualizing the industry as a whole, and he emphasizes the lack of interest of the average worker today in his work. His interest is through his pay-check. The monotonous grind he hates, and outside of his own little operation he has no vision of the industry as a whole, or even the shop, as a rule. He is a cog in the wheel, and a cog cannot participate in the management of the mechanism, necessary as it is.

Tannenbaum just touches on the essential working class nature of the technicians and the part they will play in the new administration, but for a thorough and clear cut exposition of this subject it is necessary to read the new book by Professor Veblen, "The Engineers and the Price System" which will be reviewed in the September "Pioneer."

It is well to mention, before dismissing this subject of industrial education, that the author slightly exaggerates the lack of industrial vision of the workers as a whole, though he does not exaggerate the neglect of this subject by the radicals. He will find that in almost every machine shop, or electricians' department there are several young fellows working on correspondence courses

in mechanical or electrical engineering or related subjects. It sometimes happens that there are more men in the shop who take a progressive attitude towards industry than towards the labor movement, as now constituted. The newer developments of industrial unionism tend to utilize this scientific interest in the furtherance of workers' control of industry.

Tannenbaum conceives industrial knowledge to be valuable for the coming industrial administration but he does not mention its significance in the class war today. In fact this significance is strangely overlooked even by many of the Russians who have done such good service in showing the need for industrial knowledge in the future. It would seem apparent that the more knowledge the workers have the more power—today. For instance, unions properly equipped with the facts of their industry would know when to strike, in order to inflict the greatest economic damage on the enemy, and they would know where to strike, for they would have full knowledge of the key spots of industry. And they would have the data by which to lay out systematic organization drives on the unorganized parts of the industry. Examples will occur to the reader in any industry with which he is acquainted.

The "Labor Movement" is one of the few worth while contributions to the subject in the last year, but before closing the writer of this review would like to take courteous issue with the author regarding a statement that is emphasized distinctly in several parts of the book, that is, that any labor union is essentially revolutionary, the theory being based on the facts that the union brings workers together, develops group consciousness and fights the exploiter. This statement is an old acquaintance, though not usually developed as fully as in this book, but it always causes surprise to the worker who has been through an industrial union strike which was scabbed on by a craft union within the same industry. He cannot see that craft union in any other but that of a counter revolutionary role, for the very reason that it is blocking the group interests of a larger number of workers. I had such an experience in Newark, N. J. two years ago when a dozen cutlery shops were three-quarters shut down by an industrial union strike and the metal polishers' union of the A. F. of L. officially fought the strike, the business agent going out on the picket line and using all the arts of coercion and cajolery to force the workers back to scabbery, including those outside his own craft. Such experiences have been repeated in very industry where an industrial union movement, which for the time represented the majority of the workers, has been opposed by a craft union which represented only a small fraction.

Regarding the evolution of the present craft unions towards the industrial form and greater strength, the author is over optimistic. The recent action of the Metal Trades Department heads of the A. F. of L., (since the manuscript of the book

was written) in turning down by an immense majority the machinists' mild proposal for a conference of international presidents to consider the question of closer affiliation, is a case in point, which is more striking than the favorable settlement of some minor jurisdictional disputes. As far as the development of A. F. of L. strength is concerned, it is well to consider that a loss in membership, estimated at 1,500,000 to 2,000,000, has taken place since the industrial depression and the accompanying open shop drive, which the craft unions were unable to resist, because of structural and spiritual weakness. But it is only fair to Tannenbaum to point out that the book was written, though not published, before these later developments.

But by and large the book is good, and even a veteran in the industrial union movement will gain from perusal of the more essential phases of the book. Especially will he be interested in the socializing effect which the labor movement, in the main, unavoidably exercises on the worker who enters it. This emphasis on what may broadly be called the spiritual side of the movement is refreshing in a period when the grimmer aspects of the struggle are being forced so emphatically on our attention.

A. S.

THE BRITISH MINERS' STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 53.)

that crushes English and German worker alike. Russia, the only exception, is free from the tendrils of the capitalist octopus and, having completely exterminated its supporters, is now engaged in the reconstruction of her industries, under great difficulties. To defeat the International capitalists, the workers of the world must construct an International Union having all the technical mechanism of modern science embodied in its structure, powerful and capable of overthrowing its enemy.

(Signed) N. Watkins,

Member of Provisional Council of International Trade and Industrial Unions, Moscow. E. C. Member of National Workers' Committee, England.

* * *

The latest news from the coal front in England show wavering and uncertainty there.

The miners executives have recommended that the miners accept the offer of the government. This offer was essentially the same as that put forward on April 18th except for some verbal dressings. The miners formerly turned it down emphatically by referendum vote.

Some of the miners have already reported for work but the majority are standing fast till the new ballot is taken.

The government threatened to withdraw its offer of ten million pounds subsidy unless immediate resumption of work occurred on the part of the miners. It is this threat, it is reported, that caused the miners' executives to recommend acceptance.—(Editor).

The International Situation

THROUGHOUT the capitalistic world the process of slowing down and disintegration is going on in the industrial fields. The joint committees of capitalism known as political governments, are frantically applying those nostrums and remedies which custom and belief have led them to believe will effect a cure. These political measures are nationalistic in their outlook. They deal with tariffs and subsidies and seek to improve the conditions of the capitalists in single nations, having no reference to the whole world nor its problems. Industry is international, and today the social life of peoples is international, as it depends upon industry.

Selfish national measures, instead of aiding the industrial situation tend only to further disruption. Tariff walls against the commodities of foreign countries prevent the recovery of exchange and foreign finance. Industry suffers and retaliatory measures nullify any benefits that might accrue to the first nation.

Normal outlets for surplus values have in the past, been supplied through foreign investments, loans and development schemes. Preparation for war armament, munitions, etc., has always been an exceptionally profitable matter for nationalistic-minded capitalists. There is a tendency today to economize on war programs. Whether or not it will have effect, in curtailing the extravagant expenditures on war material remains to be seen.

Social conditions are in the hands of men who look at things through the eyes of business enterprise. Business management, that thinks in terms of profit and loss and curtailment of overhead expense, rather than in terms of industrial production is unable to conceive of any means to bring back industry to something like a normal state.

With millions of people throughout the world facing starvation, conditions are rapidly reaching the state where a solution must be had. There is no solution other than the complete abolition of the capitalist system. All power must be assumed by the working class. Industrial problems can only be solved by dealing with the material facts of industry. To get at these facts and to put the machinery in motion to achieve betterment, the empowered working class need to convoke congresses of industrial engineers.

The organizing of these engineers and experts to work with the industrial unions is a problem which we are facing today. Upon the correct solution of this problem depends largely the welfare of the future race.

Production for use instead of for profit is the only alternative to social chaos.

Russia and Germany

Russia and Germany today are centers of complex industrial issues. As yet, Russia has not had time to develop foreign trade to any large extent.

Most of her trade has been in the line of imports. Exports have consisted of such materials as flax, lumber, timber, etc.

The development of the Russian international trade depends upon the ability of the Soviet Government to speed up production in the Russian industries this summer.

Everywhere in Russia there is swarming activity. The organization of industry for immediate production takes precedence over every other question. In order to produce goods, food is the essential thing. The crop situation of Russia is perhaps the most vital point of the whole situation. So far, the harvest appears above normal, pre-war days.

Only the upper Volga which is a semi-arid country and only occasionally gives good crops reports a failure. Organs for barter with the peasants are being prepared, in order to swing this great agricultural production into international trade channels.

Transport facilities are being vastly improved. Trains that a year ago could travel only 50 versts in 24 hours are now making 400 in the same time. Special lines have been made more efficient than in pre-war days. From Omsk which is a great grain center in western Siberia, to Petrograd the time used to be 10 days on fast freight shipments. Today the provision trains are making it in 8 days.

Through trains are running from Odessa, via Kiev and Moscow to Petrograd. Everywhere the transportation problems are being attacked and solved with vigor.

The arrival of shiploads of fuel and food in Petrograd has relieved an immense amount of railroad equipment for important industrial transportation work in the interior. This fall will see Russia billed to play an important part in the international trade activities. Their industrial production is well on the upward trend.

The German industrial position grows more hopeless day by day. For quite a period German capitalism was regaining its grip on the markets of the world. Activities were becoming intense in great German plants.

No sooner, however, did the flood of German goods commence to pour out than the capitalist governments in the other countries took steps to offset this German advance. Restrictions of all sorts then met the German capitalist in his attempts to market the products of his poorly paid workers. The situation among the working class is growing worse. There seems to be no outlet for German material except in the direction of Russia. This outlet has not been exploited except in specialties. Pressure, however, is forcing the German capitalist to find markets in Soviet Russia.

There is little unity at present in the ranks of the German working class. The communist uprisings at Halle seem to have been premature and

ill-advised. At present German courts are dealing out sentences to those communists whom they have been able to capture, and on whom they are fixing the responsibility for the trouble.

The breakdown of the capitalist system is becoming more acute daily. Among the working class, however, no real, efficient, detailed plan or program has been advanced. The rebel spirit by itself seems unable to solve the difficulties of a proletarian revolution.

Scandinavia

In the Scandinavian countries the working class is active and is in a better position economically. Sweden is enjoying some measure of prosperity through her trade with Russia. This trade is increasing the percentage of her total exports.

Norway is in the grip of a marine workers' strike and a general strike has been declared to support the mariners. This general outbreak started in Bergen, in the north of Norway and spread rapidly to the industrial and sea-port towns.

Great Britain

In Great Britain the miners' strike was settled by compromise, and the situation there was treated separately in this magazine.

France

In France the labor movement seems to be going through a process of reorganization and centralization. They are preparing for a final struggle. Industries are in worse shape now than at the close of the war.

Small European Countries

In Italy, Spain and Portugal the White Terror has been running rampant. In Poland there is open rebellion amongst patriots against the German victory in the Silesian plebiscite. A practical state of war exists in Silesia. Whole areas refuse to recognize the German authorities. Production is at a standstill. In the Balkans, capitalist rule is only maintained by means of well-organized White Guards.

The Great strike of Jugo-Slavia has left a bitterness and a class hatred that makes reconciliation and compromise impossible. In Bulgaria and Roumania conditions have improved slightly since winter but no solution of the production problem is in sight. Organization of the workers is carried on under greatest difficulties. Persecution and terrorism are used to keep the workers in submission.

In Egypt, the nationalist, anti-British movement has grown to tremendous proportions. Rioting has repeatedly broken out in Alexandria. All the dependencies of Great Britain seem filled with revolt.

Japan

In Japan the revolutionary workers have made great strides in organized and co-ordinated activity. Strikes and demonstrations have shown unheard-of solidarity. Among the ship-yard workers especially, has the revolutionary spirit and organized action been seen. According to the capitalist

press a new revolt has broken out amongst these workers at Kobe. It was reported that they had taken control of the yards and were defending their position against all attempts to dislodge them.

China

In China the revolutionary spirit is more of a nationalistic movement aimed at the imperialistic policies of Great Britain and Japan. Industry being in a handicraft stage, no industrial movement of any size is in existence. In the few industrial plants that are in operation the workers there are like the Japanese fellow workers—very revolutionary.

The tremendous suffering of the Chinese through famine and disease has not produced any corresponding growth in revolutionary spirit. It seems that all Chinese rebellions have been personally organized and are not the results of spontaneous uprisings. The best laid plans have always won. Industrial depression, famine and disease are sapping the life of millions of Chinese people. Yet this has been the chronic condition for thousands of years.

South America

In South America industrial breakdown is more acute than elsewhere. In northern Chile nitrate deposits are closed up. The shipping of Valparaiso has dropped off to very little. Hundreds of thousands are without work.

In Peru the great copper camps of the Guggenheim and English syndicates are closed to the workers. Silver mining in Bolivia is still going ahead and the biggest mining camp in the world still holds its lead now, far ahead of Butte, Montana which once ran a close second.

The rest of South America shows conditions of depression. Organization is met with the persecution and the mailed fist of the state. At that, however, progress seems better than in North America, for the workers are getting together for action.

Australasia

Australia, New Zealand and the islands of the East Indies all reflect the same general conditions of the rest of the world. Especially miserable is the lot of the Hindu coolies working in the big industrialized plantations in the islands. That a tremendous spirit of revolt is growing amongst them can be seen by the occasional news of uprisings, revolts and reprisals that leak out.

Never was the need of a definite centralized industrial and social program so necessary. As if to fill this imperative need, the Red Industrial International met in Moscow on July 10th. Upon their adoption and prompt carrying out of a definite constructive program depends the welfare of a stricken world.

Intelligent revolutionists everywhere must place their abilities and energies in the elaborating and carrying out of the world program, else civilization itself is doomed. There is one hope: World wide working class action.

DEFENSE NEWS

ATTEMPTS are being made in almost every state in the Union to suppress the activities of the I. W. W. Particularly so in the harvest fields where the I. W. W. is carrying on an extensive campaign of organization. In Kansas and Oklahoma hundreds of members are being arrested for having literature and cards in their possession.

In the state of Kansas where an injunction against the I. W. W. exists, members are being thrown into jail, some being charged with criminal syndicalism, and in many cases no charge whatever placed against them. In quite a few instances cases are pending with the possibilities of the men having to go to the penitentiary.

In South Dakota the newspapers have already started their campaign of inferences, insinuations, and lies. This is done for the purpose of justifying the persecution that has now commenced. Those who are thrown in jail have charges of vagrancy placed against them, a technical charge that is being overplayed by the agents of our masters.

Yet in spite of all the persecution the membership of the I. W. W. go merrily on, talking to the slaves of the necessary remedy to change existing conditions. In California where the agents are bending every effort to break up the I. W. W. they only lend impetus to the organizers and delegates.

Charges of criminal syndicalism, vagrancy and a number of other fake "crimes" continually used against workers and their organizations, have not disheartened the membership but on the contrary, has made them more determined than ever to place the industries where they properly belong.

New agencies are being organized by the employers to combat the I. W. W. and other liberal organizations. These new bodies parade under the name of the Ku Klux Klan and the Commercial

Club. They are using the war time method of tar and feathering, whipping, and deportations. The capitalist press in its silence acquiesces.

The county and state officials are rather encouraging these mobs and in some cases are giving a helping hand. It is known fact that the farmers in the harvest disapprove of these tactics, but they themselves are sometimes threatened if they should give more wages than is set by the Commercial Clubs.

The members of the I. W. W. realize the gravity of the situation. They realize that it is an attempt of the powers that be to suppress every bit of activity that the American workers might show. Unless something is done, mob rule shall again prevail in America.

There is but one answer to the challenge of the masters who are bending every effort toward destroying the organization, and that is for each and every member to rally to the support of the principles they believe and the organization stands for. It is only by acting together can we win. Solidarity should be our watchword.

The General Defense is in need of funds to supply relief for the dependents of those men who are now imprisoned in the various jails and penitentiaries throughout the country and for comforts that are denied the defendants themselves.

We want every member to send in something, no matter how small the amount may be, and to get others to do likewise. By our action, let us show the boys that we haven't forgotten them. Let us make our answer to the master emphatic.

Donations should be sent to the General Defense Committee at 1001 W. Madison St.

Harry Feinberg, Sec'y.

RAILROAD JUGGLING

By Jan Rus

UPON the balloting now going forward among the 2,000,000 railroad men of the country will depend whether the nation's transportation system will be tied up or not this fall. They are voting upon the proposition to accept or reject the ruling of the United States Railroad Labor Board abrogating the national agreements, which the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor hold to be indispensable if present working conditions are to be maintained, let alone improved. The board, prompted by the importunities of the railroad managements of the country, ruled that the national agreements are unworkable, cumbersome, and that they should be displaced by local arrangements that would permit of a looser form of agreement to exist between employers and employed.

Whatever merit there may be in this contention

it is a fact that once local agreements are put into effect the railroad brotherhoods will find much of their power gone and once labor organizations, no matter how yellow they may be, lose even a particle of the power they have gained through years of fighting and negotiation so much the worse for the radical labor movement in the United States. Of what use is the yeast if there is no dough? No matter what happens, unions, as such, must be kept intact, and that is not to say no effort, however small, must not be made to convert them to more modern forms of industrial organizations.

And so the railroad unions, independent or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the railway employes' department, will find themselves either losing what they have gained or all but maintaining ground conquered only after much hard fighting. The rank and file have the

issue in their hands. Tom, Dick and Harry have it in their power to decide whether the national agreements shall continue or whether their unions shall deal individually with the roads in all parts of the country. The latter will mean, that, though their work is identical, a freight handler in Boston, compared to a freight handler in San Diego, may receive preferential treatment, not because of any inherent strength in the union to secure more favorable terms in Boston than in San Diego but because of certain other conditions obtaining that will compel the union to temporize on the question of working conditions.

It is only necessary to bear in mind the phrase "local agreements" to get the full impact of the chaos to which the labor forces of the nation must revert if local agreements go into effect. Even under national agreements, uniform and liable to but one interpretation, there is enough delay in getting wrongs righted* and squables settled. But local agreements can mean only a sort of guerilla warfare that would augur badly for the nation's transportation system. The carriers would contest every difficulty with all the means, legal and extra-legal, at their disposal. And there is a suspicion that this is what they desire. They want to reduce the roads of the country to such a pass that to bring some order into the system the federal government would be only too glad to pay and pay handsomely for appropriating the lines, lock, stock and barrel. The managements already have had a taste, sweet to them, of the public treasury, and they are crying for more to the tune of \$800,000,000 at least.

Rea, of the Pennsylvania railroad, recently informed a listening public that this amount of \$800,000,000 would hardly cover the disparity between what labor was being paid and what labor was really only worth to the roads. For good measure he added a few other items of a few millions or so, for repairs found necessary after the government returned the roads to private ownership, all this in spite of the fact that grants of several billion have been made out of the United States treasury since the memorable March 1, 1920.

We may be sure that if Uncle Sam did take over the roads for good his right hand would not know what the left was doing, and government ownership under any plan than that of out and out confiscation would be on a par with that form of state socialism in which the future is mortgaged to pay for the dissipations of the present and the past. Through years of exploiting the lives of others a certain class in this and other countries has grown so accustomed to profits that a form of society where profits are withheld is quite incomprehensible to them.

And so any nationalization scheme that the railroads might advance as being the only solution of the mess into which they with their money-grabbing hands have brought them would have to be taken with a barrel of aslt.

It would not be a sudden change of heart on their part. In fact it is quite on the books that the nation would wake up to find itself in possession of a gold brick. The stockholders would continue to draw dividends and interest on dividends; the directors their fat fees; the managers the high prices for their valuable services. And not only would the nation be paying for these but in addition would have the cares of ownership upon its head.

There is every indication that the roads are contemplating some such move. W. W. Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, appearing before the United States Railroad Labor Board some time ago, and speaking in behalf of the managers of other important roads, startled his hearers by declaring the carriers were facing immediate bankruptcy. This camouflaged as a reason for redecision of the board to cut pay 12 and 15 per cent, according to classification among the employes, proved to be successful. But it is highly probable that there was something else than a mere reduction in wages behind it.

Atterbury, egged on by his formal competitors, who, behind the scenes, are his best friends, sobbed out the confession as a piece of stage play destined to prepare the public for the grand finale. Too great a shock would never do.

To carry out the tragi-comedy to perfection the abrogation of national agreements is yet another of the properties necessary to the capitalist art of deceiving the public. These fellows are excellent at sleight-of-hand. Now you see it; now you don't. Hey, presto! You thought you were looking at labor getting its just reward and with a start you find your own pockets were being picked.

A NEW PERIODICAL

A new periodical is now added to the list of publications being put out by the Industrial Workers of the World. It is published in New York City by the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510. Full of breezy organization news and timely articles of value to seamen it should be well supported by the membership in seaport towns.

The Marine Worker will be published every two weeks, the 1st and 15th, and will contain articles pertaining to the marine industry the world over and especially the work of the delegates of the M. T. W. in the ports of the United States. The Marine Worker is for free distribution and the only means of financing it will be through voluntary contributions from the workers who want to see the I. W. W. gain in the Marine Transport Industry.

Address is:

THE MARINE WORKER
P. O. Box 69, Station D, New York City.

TO MARINE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Organize to Overcome the Capitalist Sea Wolf

Fellow Workers:

Moscow, Russia,
May First, 1921.

CAPITALISM is suffering from one of its inevitable crises which recur. The old system is tottering to its end. It has long ago failed to satisfy the needs and desires of the human race. No intelligent workers can find an apology for its continuance. It must be destroyed by the people who suffer. It is only power that can count. And to commence in that great work is the task of the marine workers of all the seas and the oceans.

Fellow workers of the sea, let us hail this sorrowful First of May by resolving to construct a form of organization that will render us invincible. The capitalist class have nothing to offer us except rags, poverty, and hunger. We refuse to die of hunger in a world of plenty. We refuse to sleep beneath the stars of heaven while there are houses, beds, and linen occupied. We refuse to wear rags while there are clothes to be had.

Let our slogan be, "The abolition of the system of robbery which men call capitalism." Let all our efforts be towards converting the ruling class into useful workers, and placing the great industry in which we work under the control of the workers. The marine transport industry has within it thousands of sober, intelligent, capable fellow workers, who are as competent to organize it on a modern proletarian basis as the other class are incompetent.

We refuse further to be lured by the promise of unemployment doles on the part of the various governments, and we refuse to be further misled by the yellow fakirs, who murder every strike, sabotage every effort by the marine workers to improve their standard of life. We declare war upon local and national unionism and its upholders, the pot-bellied bourgeoisie. The world is big enough for us, and the sea at least shall no longer be the property of the monarchs of ocean transport.

Our logical position today is to establish for the earth one organization for all workers on ships and wharves, regardless of nationality, creed, or colour. We will place our religious and color differences on one side, and organize as a class. The working class first, last and all the time. The foreign proletarian is more to us than the bourgeoisie of our native countries. Universal organization, one union for the definite and final control of the great marine industry, is our programme. The mastery of the industry will be determined, not by fine words or well-polished phrases but by actual, tangible, concrete power. The one big union of the marine transport workers will possess, when organized, such power.

To this end the Provisional Council for the convening of the Marine International have decided to hold a congress for all marine workers in the historic city of Red Petrograd during the month of

August of this year. The general principles outlined for this new organization are as follows, and all marine workers are requested to study them closely:

Name.—Marine Transport Workers Union, part of Red International of Trade Unions.

Headquarters.—To be fixed at congress.

Aims and problems.—To organize all the workers in the marine transport industry into one union. To carry on an active struggle against the national unions who oppose this organization, and who are based upon the premise that the workers and their masters have interests in common. To extend full protection to all members of the organization in all parts of the world. To exert all the efforts of the organization to take the industry into its own hands, and to render protection to workers in all regions of the earth.

Composition.—The organization will be divided into sections comprising the various elements of the marine industry viz.: wharf laborers, stevedores, coal and oil workers in ports, and the men employed on the deck, engineers and pursers' departments aboard ship. Also ship painters, cleaners and riggers.

Executive Board.—The Executive Board of the M. T. W. Union shall be elected by the congress, and shall continue in office until the following congress. This Board shall be composed of practical marine workers, and representatives of the various regions of the marine industry, who speak various languages and thoroughly understand the work in hand.

This executive shall standardize the work of organization and see that it is centralized in each port. As far as possible the offices of the different sections will be under one roof. Educational meetings will be regularly conducted, and newspapers and literature published in the language that is easily understood by the men engaged in ships and wharves.

Through the regional and port offices the Executive Board will acquire all data necessary to them taking the entire merchant fleets of the world and operating them. They will compile the tonnage of the different ports, the nature of ports, and the different types of ships. They will study the economical running of shipping to prevent trips in ballast and generally acquaint themselves and the members of their organization with the complete technique of the industry.

Offices.—Regional offices will be opened in the following ports, which may be varied from time to time owing to economic or political changes, viz., Goteborg, Christiania, Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Hamburg, Le Havre, Athene, Singapore, Sydney, Rio de Janeiro, Havana, Montreal, Reval, Rotterdam, Lisbon, Constantinople, Batavia, Wellington, Callao, Tampico, Petrograd, Antwerp, Barcelona, Port Said, Hong Kong, Durban, Valparaiso, New

York, Odessa, Liverpool, Genoa, Calcutta, Yokohama, Buenos Aires, San Francisco, Superior.

As far as possible each district will publish its own newspapers in the language of the region and a system of general distribution will be devised so that every region will have a continuous supply of such for every ship and nationality within its zone.

Control by members.—In all ports regular meetings shall be held of all the workers. In large ports, when necessary, language sections may be formed. These meetings shall always be utilized to develop the ideas of industrial control among the members. Vital matters from port meetings shall be forwarded to the regional office and thence forwarded to the Executive Board.

Dues and initiations.—The monthly dues shall be determined between the regional organizations and the Executive Board. These dues shall be as low as possible, and shall be arranged so that they coincide as near as possible with the currency rates and the wages paid in the different regions. For the maintenance of regional offices a per capita system shall be adopted that shall meet with the approval of the first congress. The system of dues shall be upon a monthly basis to simplify bookkeeping and a stamp system of payments utilized. Monthly accounts shall be kept.

Assistance.—In cases of vital necessity monetary assistance shall be granted to members during strikes and fights against the employer and the ruling class.

Discipline.—Within the ranks of the Marine Transport Workers Union there shall be complete solidarity between all members regardless of color, religion, or nationality, occupation or profession.

Ships committees shall be elected from the various departments, and shall consist at least of two men, where the crew does not exceed 20. When the crew exceeds 50, one representative shall be completely released from all work for the carrying out of his duties. The duties of the ships committees shall be to supervise the work aboard ship, so that they may develop the self-reliance and the initiative essential. They shall inspect all supplies of food, and see that they are of the quantity and quality desired. They shall render reports in writing immediately on their arrival in overseas ports to the port offices.

There shall be regular meetings of delegates in the various ports. They shall concern themselves with dismissals, loggings, penalties, and see that the water line is maintained in a satisfactory manner. They shall be instructed to inspect life boats, and see that all gear is in perfect order. That the cargo is stowed without danger to the ship or the crew. The ships delegate shall be elected from the committee, and shall keep a journal of happenings during voyages. The committee shall be elected from the bottom up, and any member may be liable to instant recall at the will of membership.

Things to be done.—The Marine Transport Workers Union shall engage itself upon the general

standardization of remuneration, hours, and working conditions for the whole industry. They shall keep in direct communication with all the various shipbuilding organizations, for the purpose of collaborating in the needs of the workers in regard to the structure of living accommodation, etc. They shall legislate for the industry, approving terms of service and fixing the age limit for workers. They shall seek by every means to make the union capable of controlling the whole of the industry upon the disintegration of capitalism.

Schools.—Marine and technical schools shall be established, the service of which shall be free to all marine workers desiring to use them. Observatories and rescue stations would also ultimately come under the control of the union, as would all questions of cosmopolitan importance affecting any part of the marine workers.

The general work of surveying, maintenance, and control of light-houses and ships, beacons, buoys, harbor and coastal signals will ultimately also pass into the hands of the union. The scientific and speedy handling of cargo and its supervision will come under the work of the union, as will meteorological studies, oceanography, etc.

Fellow workers of the ports and ships, the hour has struck for the M. T. W. U. The old unions are breaking up. Their day is finished. They were as cowardly as they were useless. They failed in the great British miners' strike, and in every country the marine workers are fighting in strike and struggle against the ruling class and their own black-hearted traitors who have sold them again and again. The time is ripe for the new form of organization. With you, fellow worker, behind it, it must prevail.

In Moscow the Provisional Bureau for the preparatory work for the M. T. W. international is carrying on its work. The delegates and members of nearly 500,000 marine and river workers have studied this vital matter from every standpoint, and they are confident that the time is red hot for the holding of a great congress that will end the days of the rotten Seafarer Federation and woeful aggregation of deadwood that trades and snuffles under the name of the International Transport Workers Federation, and is guided by the hands of the most lamentable creature, who ever climbed upon the shoulders of the trusting working class, J. H. Thomas, who is a worthy colleague of the other unspeakable blackwhiskered Thomas.

In Petrograd in the month of August this congress will be held. Representatives from all the corners of the world will be present, who are intent upon the positive and definite creation of One Union for the whole marine transport industry. Come, then, fellow workers, and make history, and throw down the gauntlet to the magnates of ocean transport.

Long live the Marine Transport Workers Union, Universal and International!!!

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